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THE

ATTANAGALU-VANSA,

OR

THE HISTORY

OF THE

TEMPLE OF ATTANAGALLA.

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THE

ATTANAGALU-VANSA

OR

THE HISTORY

OF THE

TEMPLE OF ATTANAGALLA;

TRANSLATED FROM THE PÀLI

WITH

NOTES AND ANNOTATIONS,

ETC., ETC.

BY

JAMES D'ALWIS, M.R.A.S.

ADVOCATE OF THE SUPREME COURT,

AUTHOR OF THE SIDATSANGARÀ, AN INTRODUCTION TO SINHALESE GRAMMAR, KACHCHÀYANA'S PÀLI GRAMMAR, CONTRIBUTIONS TO ORIENTAL LITERATURE, ETC. ETC.

COLOMBO:

1866.

Williams and Norgate, 14, Henrietta Street, Covent Garden, London, and 20, South Frederick Street, Edinburgh.

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To SIR EDWARD SHEPHERD CREASY, *Kt.*,
Chief Justice of Ceylon, late Professor of History in the University of London, etc., etc., etc.

SIR,

THE study of Oriental Literature is, as you are aware, no where prosecuted with greater devotion than in Europe. To those indefatigable students who have, by their deep researches, and invaluable contributions, given to Orientals themselves a taste for the study of their ancient literature, I am greatly indebted for the successful completion of this Translation of the *Attanagaluvansa*. I have undertaken it partly with a view to learn the language of the sacred works of the Buddhists, to which so much interest attaches, and partly with the object of communicating my humble researches to others.

In presenting, therefore, to the European public a native literary production on *Historical* and *Political* subjects, relating to ancient Ceylon, I was desirous of associating it with the name of one, who, from his own high attainments in the departments of *History* and *Constitutional Law*, has eminently distinguished himself in the literary world, and is consequently able to

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appreciate the merits, if any, of my humble performance, as well as to sympathize with the writer for his many short-comings and defects. I need not therefore state how completely that wish has been gratified by your kind permission to inscribe the following sheets to yourself; nor need I assure you how much I esteem the favour thus conferred upon,

SIR,

Your most obedient and humble Servant,

JAS. ALWIS.

Naivala, 28th July, 1866.

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PREFACE

TO THE

ATTANAGALU-VANSA.

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PREFACE.

Of all the Pali works extant in this island, no class possesses a more absorbing interest than the Historical Records of the Sinhalese. Besides the general archæological interest attached to the writings of the past, there is in these Sinhalese Historical records much to excite admiration and suggest inquiry,—*admiration* for a people from whom has originated in the East, a desire for historical pursuits—and *inquiry* into matters of the greatest value to the Antiquarian and Philologer, as well as the Statesman and the Christian Missionary. It is a remarkable fact that no country in the East possesses so correct a history of its own affairs, and those of Asia generally, as Ceylon.

The Phœnicians, who had influenced the civilization of a very large portion of the human race by their great inventions and discoveries, by their colonies established in almost every quarter of the globe, and above all by the extensive commerce which they carried on,—have left nothing behind, except the *alphabet* which they invented. The Persians a very interesting and a very ancient race, to whom we naturally look for historic information, have little

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beyond their *Zendavasta*, two chapters of which contain some traditions of their own.

The Hindus, a people who had a literature of their own from a period long before the Sinhalese became a nation, have no historical records; and their scanty 'fragmentary historical recollections,' which have been embodied in their religious works, such as the *Purànas*, present themselves in the language of *prophecy*; and upon their basis no trust-worthy chronological calculations can be made.* In the *Vedas* again, which are perhaps older than any Ceylonese Buddhist writings, and which are supposed to 'furnish the only sure foundation on which a knowledge of ancient and modern India can be built up,'† there is a 'lamentable lack of a historic sense, which has ever been one of the most remarkable characteristics of the Indian mind.'‡

Although our Dravidian neighbours, especially the Tamils, had attained to a very high degree of civilization at the time our first monarch sought for and obtained a Pandian princess; yet they have no works which can be called *historical*, and their literature, however ancient, is much inferior to that of the *Brahmans* §

* See Pr. Lassen's Indische Alterthumskunde, p. 503.

† Essay on the results of the Vedic Researches by W. D. Whitney, American Oriental J. iii. p. 291.

‡ Ib. p. 310.

§ Caldwell's Dravidian Grammar, p. 81.

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The Chinese, who boast of a descent from times remoter than the days of Adam, have no historical writings which can throw the slightest light upon the affairs of the East.

In the country of Maghada, so greatly renowned as the birth-place of Buddhism, and of the still more interesting language (the Pàli) in which it was promulgated—a kingdom, moreover, which dates its origin from the time of the Mahà Bhàrat,*—we have no records of a historical character, beyond religious inscriptions sculptured on stone, and grants of lands engraved on plates of copper. These 'unconnected fragments' beyond serving to fix the dates of particular Kings, furnish us at present with neither history nor matter sufficient to help us to a general Chronology. The Bactrian Coins, again, afford us the same kind of information which the monumental inscriptions furnish us, but little or nothing beyond. 'The only Sanskrit composition yet discovered in all Asia, to which the title of History can with any propriety be applied, is the *Ràjatarangini*;† a comparatively modern work which was compiled A. D. 1148: but this again does not bear any comparison either in point of the matter it contains, or in the interest which attaches to the subjects it treats upon, with the *Sinhalese Historical Records*. The genuine historic zeal

* Elphinstone's History of India, vol. i. p. 260.

† Pr. H. H. Wilson's Introd. to Rajatarangini.

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exhibited by the Sinhalese from the very time they colonized Ceylon, far surpasses that of all other Indian nations.*

The love which the Sinhalese had for such pursuits,† was participated in by their rulers themselves; and, whilst tradition asserts that some of our early Sinhalese Annals, from which the Mahavansa was compiled, were the works of some of our Monarchs,—history records the facts, that 'the national annals were from time to time compiled by royal command;' and that the labors of 'the historians were rewarded by the State with grants of lands.' The interest which our Sovereigns took in this part of the national literature was indeed so great, that many a traveller and geographer of the middle ages was particularly struck as 'a trait of the native rulers of Ceylon,' with the fact of the employment by them of persons to compile the national annals.‡ And though comparatively few are the records which the ravages of time, and the devastating hand of sectarian oppression, have left be-

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* Lassen's Indis. Alt. vol. ii. pp. 13—15.

† This is inherent in the Sinhalese, and it is not a little curious that just as we are writing on the subject, the *Colombo Observer* of 30th August, 1860, puts forth the same views in alluding to a recent examination of the boys of the *Cotta Christian Institution*; as follows:—"Then came a very interesting examination of several boys in Roman history. * * The readiness with which the various questions were answered, and the apparent pleasure the boys took in this study, show that the spirit of their ancestors who composed the Mahawansa is strong in the Singhalese boys of this generation."

‡ Edrisi, clim. 1 § 8 p. 3.

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hind; —they, nevertheless, excel in matter and interest, all the Annals of Asia. As 'the first actual writing, and the first well-authenticated Inscription in India, are of *Buddhist* origin,'* so, likewise, the first actual chronicle, as well as the most authentic history, in the whole of the eastern hemisphere, may be traced to a *Ceylon*-Buddhistic source. 'The Mahavansa stands,' says Sir James Emerson Tennent,† 'at the head of the historical literature of the East; unrivalled by any thing extant in Hindustan, the wildness of whose chronology it controls.'

When, for instance, the watchful mind of Sir William Jones seized with avidity the identity of *Chandragupta* and *Sandracottus*, and thence discovered the only key for unlocking the history and chronology of Asia, the annals of Ceylon were not without their use in removing the doubts which had been conjured up by Antiquarians. When the indefatigable labors of a Prinsep enabled him to decipher the rock inscriptions of *Piyadàsi* or *Devanampiya*, the discovery could not with certainty have been applied either to fix the proper date of the Buddhistic era, or to reduce the chronology of Asia to its proper limits, without the aid of the Sinhalese re-

* Pr. Max Muller's Sanskrit Literature, p 520.

† History of Ceylon, p. 516.

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cords—the Dìpàvansa* in particular, which identified the Dèvanampiya with Asòka. When the obscure dialect of the pillar inscriptions presented philological difficulties, the Ceylon Pali Mahavansa alone served as an 'infallible dictionary'† for their elucidation. When again the Cashmirean history put forth an extravagant chronology, Ceylonese chronicles alone enabled Mr. Turnour to effect an important and valuable correction to the extent of 794 years, and thereby to adjust the chronology of the East.‡ When lastly, the penetrating mind of a Burnouf, from an examination into the Nepal version of the Buddhist scriptures, conceived the idea of "a fourth digest" of the Buddhists, apart from the compilations of the three Convocations, the Sinhalese annals, and above all the Dìpàvansa,§ alone furnished the proof required for establishing the conjecture.

Although the several early historical records in the Sinhalese language which had existed before the third century, and from which the subsequent histories

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* 'Mr. Turnour's Pali authorities will be of essential use in expounding our new discovery, and my only excuse for not having taken the epitome already published as my guide before, is that the identity of *Piadassi* was not then established.'—Mr. James Prinsep in the Bengal A. S. J. vi. p. 792 &c.

† On turning to the *infallible Tìka* upon our inscriptions, afforded by Mr. Turnour's admirable Mahawansa, we find a circumstance recorded which may help us materially to understand the obscure passage.—Prinsep; See Bengal A. S. J. vii. p. 264.

‡ See Bengal A. S. J. for September 1836.

§ See my Extracts and observations on the subject, in my Introduction to Kachchayana's Pali Grammar.

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were compiled, are irretrievably lost, we nevertheless have the *Dìpàvansa*, the *Mahàvansa*, the *Duladà-vansa*, the *Bodhìvansa*, the *Tùpàvansa*, the *Rasavàhinì*, the *Ràjavaliya*, the *Ràjaratnàkara*, *Sulu-Ràjaratnákara*, *Pùjàvaliya*, Buddhagosa's *Atthakathà*, and the *Nikàya-sangraha*, all which contain historical matter exhibiting the succession of 165 kings during a period of 2341 years, from the time when Wijaya settled in Ceylon to the British conquest in 1798; and whose general accuracy is proved by a variety of facts and circumstances. Colonel Sykes, an indefatigable scholar who maintains to this day the superiority of the Pali language, and its history, over the Sanskrit and the Brahman prophetical annals, says:

"The Mahavansa, in its details, manifests the same love of the marvellous, the same credulity and superstition, the same exaggeration in description, and the same adulation of kings and princes, which is met with in the annals and religious history of heathen and Christian nations called civilized, of ancient and modern Europe. With these drawbacks, common, however, to the annals and religious history of all nations, the *Chronology* of the *Mahawansa*, from the birth of Buddha before Christ 623, does not admit of a question with respect to its general accuracy; and neither Brahmanism nor the Sanskrit language can show any work of an unquestionable date, approaching to within many centuries of it [B. C 623], nor a

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work with the shadow of a claim to its honesty of intention, and its accuracy of chronological records ; and Mr. Turnour seems justified in stating that ..... from the date of the introduction of Buddhism into Ceylon, B. C. 307., that history [Mahavansa] is authenticated by the concurrence of every evidence which can contribute to verify the annals of any country'—Introduction p. li."*

To the historical works above eumerated may be added the ATTANAGALU-VANSA, composed in very ancient times upon the authority of 'old historians and ancient legends.'†

According to the established usage of all Eastern nations, it opens with an adoration which is the usual Buddhistical one, and proceeds to an invocation, between which and that in the *Sàhitya Darpana* there seems to be much agreement. Although the book is entitled the *Attanagaluvihàravansa*, 'the history of the Temple of Attanagalla' ; yet, as a prelude to that which is the chief subject matter of the work, the writer devotes several chapters to depict the history of *Srì Sanghabodhi*, whose decapitation at the place above mentioned led to the erection of a Temple which still exists ; and who was the only one from amongst

* Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society vol vi. pp. 339 &c.

† Vide post cap. 1 § 2.

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the Sovereigns of Ceylon to whom the historian has devoted an entirely separate work.

He was one of three Princes, connected with each other, of the *Lambakanna* (*Lamini*, Sinh.) race, who had their domains at *Mahiyangana* in Bintenna, a place still known by that name. Sanghabodhi's father *Sela-Abhaya* is alone mentioned here, but in a rock inscription at Mihintala, the introduction* of which is given below, his parents are *both* named—the father as Abaya-Sela (the same names inverted) and the mother as *Devugon.*

'The Monarch Siri Sangabo (born unto the great and illustrious king *Abayasela*, a descendant of the dynasty of *Okàka*,† which is a pinnacle of the very illustrious Khattiya [Ket, *Sinh.*] race, and born in the womb of the installed Queen-Consort *Devugon* of the same illustrious Meghavanna family,) having risen to the first offices of the State, and having in due course succeeded to the regal office, and gladdened the island of Lanka by the glory of his Majesty, did on the 10th day of the growing moon in the month of *Wak* (Oct.—Nov.), and in the sixteenth year of his reign, summon together the Clergy of both the temples *Segiri* and *Abayagiri.* And, being desirous of instituting, with reference to his (new) temple, the

* For the original see Sidatsangara, p. xxxvi.

† For the origin of this dynasty, see Introduction to the Mahavansa, p. xxxv.

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same rules which had been prescribed by his noble elder brother respecting the temples Segiri and Abayagiri; and having moreover consulted discreet persons in that behalf, he ordained that the said rules should govern the priests of this temple, its laborers, slaves, affairs, receipts, and disbursements, &c.; and thus assimilated the rules (in respect of all the three temples,) and perpetuated the hereinafter mentioned rules of practice.'

In the narrative before us, Selabhaya is simply called a 'Khattiya' (prince); but he was, probably, a provincial chieftain or sub-king. For, both the inscription above given and the Sinhalese version of the Attanagaluvansa, designate him 'monarch.'

It would seem from the history under notice, and from the particulars given in the Mahavansa that Sanghabodhi and his associates *Sanghatissa* and *Ghotàbhaya*, repaired to Anuràdhapura and soon became established in high favor at the Court of the reigning prince (Wijaya Indu A. D. 241,) obtaining from him the highest offices of the state, and enjoying his unlimited confidence. They were not, however, long in subjection to *Wijaya Indu;* for scarcely a year expired from the time they had entered into his service, when *Sanghatissa*, having procured Ghotàbhaya to assasinate his benefactor, ascended the throne.

Sanghabodhi, it would appear from the Attanagaluvansa, (vide cap. iii. §. 6) was no party to this foul deed;

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and the general character given of him in the Dipàvansa, as 'a good and pious prince'* goes to support that statement. Yet such a belief is inconsistent with the version of the transaction in the Mahavansa, which, in the language of Mr. Turnour's translation p. 229, runs as follows:

'These three persons, on their reaching the capital, were most graciously received by the monarch Wijaya in whose court they were established, and employed in offices of state. *Conspiring together, they* put to death the ràja Wijayo in his own palace; and *two of them* raised (the third) Sanghatisso, who was at the head of the army, to the throne.'

The text itself of the second sentence in which the doubtful statement occurs is the following:—

Hantvà Wijayaràjànan ràjagehami ekato,
Senàpatin Sanghatissan duve rajjebhisechayun.

Mr. Turnour's translation appears to have been made with reference to the explanation—*sabbe samànachchhandà hutvà* 'all agreeing together in mind'—given in the Tìkà for 'ekato'; but that word also implies 'in one part,' or 'in a certain apartment,' in which sense the Attanagaluvansa states, that Sanghatissa was murdered 'in his own inner palace.' See cap. iii. § 6. Be this, however, as it may:—Sanghatissa was crowned A. D. 242, and reigned four years.

* Sanghabodhi nàmena Raja àsi susilavà;
Dve vassaneva so rajà Rajjan kàresi Khattiyo.

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The statement in the Mahavansa, that this prince placed a glass pinnacle on the spire (of the Ruanveli) as a protection *against lightning*, led Sir Em. Tennent to an investigation in which the writer took part. The following is the result of my own inquiries, which I have communicated to that gentleman, and which are found acknowledged in his valuable history of Ceylon.*

I was at first under the impression that the words within brackets in the following passage, viz: "He (i. e. Sanghatissa), in like manner placed a *glass* pinnacle on the spire [to serve as a protection against lightning]" —*Mahawansa*, p. 229; had been inserted by Mr. Turnour on mere conjecture. I was the more confirmed in this belief, from not having found the least trace of the passage in question in the *Attanagaluwansa*.

On entering upon a careful examination of the subject, I find the Pali text to be as follows :

Wisun satasahassagghe chaturocha mahàmanin,
Majjhe chatunnan sùriyànan thapàpesì mahìpatì;
Thùpassa muddhanì tathà' nagghan vajira chumbatan.

These lines I would translate thus: 'The King caused to be set four gems, each of the value of a lac, in the centre of the four emblems of the sun; and likewise, an invaluable *adamantine* (diamond) ring on the top of the *thûpa*.'

* See vol. i. p. 508.

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In the *tìká*, or comment, on this passage which Mahànàma has left behind, I find an explanatory observation in these words; *asani upaddava viddhansa natthan*,* which mean literally "for the purpose of destroying the dangers of lightning"; or, in the words of Mr. Turnour, "as a protection against lightning":— whence it is evident that Mr. Turnour was indebted solely to the Tìkà for his parenthetical sentence.

A discrepancy however appears between Mr. Turnour's translation of the text, and my own, just given above, as regards the word *vajira*, which that gentleman has rendered "glass," and I have translated "adamantine," or *diamond*, adjectively used. The epithet *anagghan* "invaluable," or "priceless," immediately preceding and qualifying the word *vajira* in the original (though omitted in the translation by Mr. Turnour), shews at once that an article of far greater value than *glass* was meant; but the correctness of the interpretation which I have put upon the word, does not rest upon mere inference.

Vajira, in Pali means, according to the Pali *Nighandu*, either "diamond," or "an instrument for cutting diamond," or "the thunderbolt of Indra." The same meanings are also attached to it in a Dictionary complied by the Rev. D. J. Gogerly, still in

* These words also occur in the Burmese version of the Tìkà.

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manuscript ; and it is interesting also to observe, that the Sanskrit word *vajra* like the Pali *vajira*, means "diamond," and not "glass." In the *Amarakosha* it is thus defined: *Vajjrostri hirake pavavu*; which means "*vajra*, not feminine (i. e. *m.* and *n.* signifies) diamond, thunderbolt." Professor Wilson, in his invaluable Sanskrit Dictionary, defines it, as "a thunderbolt in general, the thunderbolt of Indra, or a *diamond* (the gem being considered analogous in hardness to the thunderbolt, or in fact, to be the same substance)." Dr. Yates also attaches to it the very same meanings.

That *vajira* in Pali, or *vajra* in Sanskrit, means *diamond*, and *not* "glass," (the word for glass being *kácha*, both in Pali and Sanskrit) may be illustrated by a host of authorities, of which the following passage in the *Dasa-Kumára-charita*, is one : viz.

"Pavra vriddhascha pànchàlikah paritràtascha sàrtha-vàhah Khanati nàmno Yavanàd *vajra mékan vasundharà mùlyan* [a diamond as valuable as the Earth] laghíya sàrghena labhya miti mamaikánte mantrayetám."

The Tamil words *vaich'chram*, *vairam*, and *vairamani* are expressed in Ṣinhalese *vaduru* : and in all these forms "diamond" only is signified. On referring to Upham's works, to see in what sense Sir Alexander Johnston and Ràjapaksa Modliar had regarded the word "vajira," in their translation of the passage in

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question, I find that *vajira chumbatan* is there translated " a net strung with *diamonds.*" The sentence is thus given by Upham :

" His successor, the king Sanghatissa, ornamented the steeple of Ruanwelly with a net strung with *diamonds*, with an excellent umbrella over it, inlaid with four precious stones to the worth of one lac each."—vol 1, p. 231.

It is thus clear, that ' vajira' means *diamond*, and *not* ' glass.'* Mr. Turnour, who resided at Kandy, probably fell into this error by confounding the modern word *vìduru* ' glass' (which is derived from the Portuguese *vidro*, and is pronounced by the Kandians with a short *i*) with the ancient Sinhalese word *viduru* which being similarly pronounced, corresponds with *vajra* and *vajira* (the Sanskrit and Pali forms), and is used to mean " diamond." Or, he may have at once been led to indentify the word *vajira* with the Latin *vitrum*, from the somewhat striking similarity between the two words. Or again, it is possible that he entertained a notion, that, like the Greek *krustallos*,† which —from the similarity of the substance for which it was a designation, " ice,"—was afterwards applied to mean

* The ancient Sinhalese word for glass is *Kudâ*. *Kshâra* Sanskrit, and *Khâra* Pali, are also terms for " glass." See extract from *Dipâvansa, infra.*

† *Crystal* was also known to the ancient Sinhalese. In the Mahavansa it is mentioned as the "*phâlika* stone." See Turnour's translation, p. 241. Our Sinhalese name for it is *palingu*.

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" crystal ;"—*vajira* was used to mean " glass" from the resemblance which it bore to " diamond."

The genuineness of the passage within brackets in Mr. Turnour's Translation, being placed beyond a doubt, the error into which he has fallen, by calling *vajira* " glass," is, I imagine, of little consequence as regards the chief question to which so much interest attaches ; namely , as to whether the Sinhalese of the third century were acquainted with the nature of lightning ;—since *diamond* too, stands high upon the list of non-conductors of lightning,* and the passage under discussion proves the Sinhalese to hâve been aware of the non-conducting properties of diamond, at a very early period, at least in the fifth century when Màhanàma wrote, while the gem itself in a polished state was not known in Europe till 400 years ago.†

It is indeed not improbable, that the Sinhalese were aware of the nature of lightning even prior to the fifth century : and if they were then familiar with the non-conducting properties of so rare an article as *diamond,* they can scarcely be supposed to have been

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* " Glass, when cold. is a non-conductor ; but when red-hot, it is a conductor: the diamond is a non-conductor ; but pure and well-burned charcoal, which is merely another form of diamond, is among the best non-metallic conductors."—*Brande's Chemistry, p.* 246.

† " The art of cutting and polishing diamonds, though probably of remote antiquity in Asia, was first introduced into Europe in 1456, by Louis Berghen, of Bruges, who accidentally discovered, that by rubbing two diamonds together, a new facet was produced,"—*ib. p.* 508.

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ignorant of the same properties in glass or Tourmalin, which is more common. The choice therefore, of "diamond" instead of "glass" for the formation of the ring on the top of the thùpa, must have been owing, I apprehend, *not* to ignorance of the non-conducting properties of *glass*, (the article itself having been known in the East from an early age;) but to a notion that religious merit would be enhanced in proportion to the costliness of the articles used in such sacred edifices as the *Ruanveli* Thúpa.

Since writing the above, I have seen the remarks of Professor H. H. Wilson* in which *chumbatan*† is supposed by him to mean "kisser" or "magnet." I have therefore thought it right to ascertain the true meaning of that word also: the more so, because it is rendered "net," both in Upham's Mahavansa, and in the Sinhalese Ràjaratnàkara. That Mr. Turnour himself was doubtful as to the correctness of the meaning which he assigned to it, viz: "pinnacle," appears from the fact of his having left that word untranslated at p. 259 of the Mahavansa, where, *vajira chumbatan* has been expressed by "a *chumbatan* of glass." But it appears that *chumbata* is not a clerical error for *chum-*

* See note (3) to Sir J. E. Tennent's History of Ceylon, p. 508.

† The word *chumbata* is compounded of *Chumba* "to kiss," and *ata* "to go." This is sometimes used with, and sometimes without an affix. If with an affix, (when a euphonic change is intended) it takes *nawu*, which is changed into *aka*. See Bàlavatàra, p. 113. Thence, the word itself is written *chumbataka*. See also Pali Nighandu.

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baka ;—nor is the former the Pali form of the latter. *Chumbaka* is the same both in Sanskrit and Pali, and means, as stated by Professor Wilson, the "*kisser*," or "*attractor of steel.*" But *chumbata,* though perhaps not a Sanskrit word, is known to be a Pali compound,* formed, according to several authorities, whom I have consulted, from *chumba,* 'kiss' and *ata* 'to go'; meaning thereby 'a moving kisser,' 'a circular prop' or 'support,' 'a ring on which something rests,' or 'cloth rolled up to form a vessel stand.' The last meaning is given both in the Pali *Nighandu,* and in Mr. Gogerly's Pali Glossary. But the explanation of it given in the Tìkà to the Mahavansa, viz : *ádhára valaya miva katvà,* "made like a supporting ring," removes all doubt as to the real meaning of *chumbata.* I subjoin, with a translation, the entier passage in the Tìkà which forms a comment on the last of the three lines which I have quoted from the Mahavansa.

THUPASSA MUDDHANI TATHA 'NAGGHA VAJIRA CHUMBATAN-TI ; *tatheva mahà thùpassa muddhani satasahassaggha nikan mahá manincha patittha petwá tassahettá asani upaddava viddhansa natthan àdhára valaya miva katvâ anaggha vajira chumbatan cha pùjesi'ti attho.* That is; '*Thúpassa mudd ahanì tathâ'naggha vajira chumbatan*' &c. means. Having in like manner placed a large

* See Abhidhànappadìpikà.

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gem, of a lac in value, on the top of the great thùpa, he fixed (literally, *offered*)* below it (i. e. below the gem,) for the purpose of destroying the dangers of lightning, an invaluable diamond *chumbata*, (having made it) like a supporting ring, (or annular rest.)"

The word "chumbata" or *chumbataka*, rendered "pinnacle" by Mr. Turnour, is found in several books besides the Mahavansa, in the sense in which I have translated it.

In the *Sakaskada*, a school-book containing many Sanskrit and Pali words, the following passage occurs :

Mahá Brahamo panìta svarna jâlâwen; *lokapâla div'ya puttrayo panìta ajana châmarayen*; *manussayo panìta dukula chumbatakayen—kramayen veda*, *&c.*

That is :—

"The great Brahmà received (the infant Siddhatta) on a golden net; the guardian gods of the world received (him) on a tiger's skin; and men received him on a *chumbata* of fine cloth: and having received him in this order, &c."

This passage is again expressed in a Sinhalese metrical version as follows :

Bihivena ebosatu, bambaran delin piligatu;
Siv surindo dimutu, andun divisam pelin piligatu.
Betipen diyunukara, duhul sumbulen manahara;
Piligatu nara nikara, ohu'natin besa bimata emawara.

* A respectful term; and means 'placed,' or 'fixed as an offering' in a religious point of view. This is a very common expression. See Asiatic Society's Journal, vi. note at p. 755. In vol. vii. of the same work, p. 259, Mr. Prinsep defines this term "propitiated by *puja*.

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In this version the Pali word *chumbata* is represented by the Sinhalese word "sumbula," the latter being the very term by which *chumbataka* is defined in the Commentary to the Pali Nigandu.

Again in the *Budhavansa*, a Pali work, there is the following passage:

Athana suvanna jâlene patigga hetwâ thitânan Brahmânan hatthato chattâro mahâ râjâno mangala sammatâya sukha samphassâya ajinappaveniyâ ghanhinsu tesan hatthato manussâ dukula chumbatakena.

That is:—

"Thereupon the four great kings (the guardian devos) received the Prince (Siddhatta) on a soft tiger's skin, peculiarly suited for that purpose, from the Brahmas who had received him into a gold net. From the hands of them (the former) men received him on a coil (chumbatan) of fine thin cloth."

From these passages it is evident that *chumbata** does not mean a "magnet pinnacle." According to the Tíka by the learned Mahanàma, already cited by me, it means something "made like a supporting ring or annular rest"; or, according to the passage now quoted, it signifies "a round pillow," or "a coil of cloth or other substance on which something is sustained."

On a careful consideration of the reasons and autho-

* The word *Chumbata* is left untranslated by Mr. Turnour in his synopsis of the *Buddhavansa*, in the Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal for 1838, p. 801.

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rites above adduced, and of the extracts given, I feel convinced that the Sinhalese of the fifth century were acquainted with electrical conductors, and the non-conducting properties of certain substances, at least of *diamond*: and that the "vajira chumbatan" mentioned in the Mahavansa was "a ring set with diamonds." Very likely it formed one (perhaps the topmost) of the annular prominences usually found encircling the spires set over those erections called *Thùpas*, in which the relics of Buddha were deposited.

The *Dìpâvansa*, a work older* than the Mahawansa by about a century and a half, says in reference to the *Ruanveli Thùpa* (on which Sanghatissa is said to have placed 'a *diamond* circle,') that Saddhàtissa, brother and successor of Dutugemini, had previously, during his reign,—which was between the years, 137 and 119 B. C.,—placed on it "a *glass* pinnacle," or literally a "lump of glass," which leads to the inference that the Sinhalese of that early period, were not only acquainted with *glass*, but that they likewise applied it for the very same purpose for which *diamond* is said to have been afterwards used by Sanghatissa.

The stanzas in the *Dìpâvansa*, to which I refer, are the two following :—

* See Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, viii. p. 922.

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Pàsà dancha akàrèsi, manuññan satta bhùmakan ;—
Lohittha kena chàdesi, Saddhátisso mahà yaso.
Lohapàsádakan náma, samannan patíhaman ahù ;
Kârápesi khára-pindan mahá thùpe varuttame.

That is :—

"The illustrious Saddhàtissa caused to be built a beautiful square (temple) with seven stories, and caused it to be covered with tiles of (loha) metal. Thence for the first time it received the name of *Lohapasáda.* He also caused to be placed a lump of glass on that which was celebrated amongst the people as the great Thùpa (i. e. the Ruanveli.)"

Mahanàma, in relating the circumstances connected with the original construction of the edifices here mentioned (see Turnour's Mahavansa, p. 200,) omits the now important fact of the "lump of glass" having been placed on the spire, and contents himself with briefly stating that "Saddhàtissa, whose name implies the sincerity of his faith, *completed the pinnacle,*"—thus discharging a duty which, as we learn from a previous passage in the Mahavansa, p. 198, had been commited to him by Dutugemini on his death-bed, in the following word : "My beloved Tissa, do thou complete in the most efficient and perfect manner, all that remains to be done at the *Mahá Thùpa.*"

It is therefore probable, that the materials with which Saddhatissa had originally embellished the

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Thùpa, fell into decay in course of time, and that Sanghàtissa, when repairing the edifice at the period alluded to, was anxious to excel Saddhàtissa in the costliness of the articles used for that purpose. If so, it will satisfactorily account for the substitution, afterwards, of *diamond* in place of "glass." The extreme difficulty, if not absolute impossibility, of obtaining a "lump" of diamond of sufficient size, wherewith to surmount the top of the Thùpa, will furnish a reason for the adoption, in its stead, of a *chumbata* or "circle" studded with small diamonds.

And the fact of a "lump of glass" having been first used by Saddhátissa, in preference to gold or any other precious metals, for the top of the Thùpa, coupled with that of its being subsequently replaced, or at least its place being supplied, by a "diamond ornament," for the purpose as it is expressly stated, "of averting the dangers of lightning," will lead to the natural conclusion, that the *original* "lump of glass" had been likewise designed as a non-conductor of lightning.

It appears to me as rather a curious fact, and one worthy of careful investigation, that many of the articles selected for the embellishment of the *Ruanveli*, were non-conductors of lightning. I have already alluded to *glass* and *diamond*. It appears also from the Mahàvansa, p. 211, that in the reign of Batiyatissa, (19, B. C.) that Sovereign covered the Chetiya

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with a drapery net-work studded with *pávalá* stones, by which *corals* were meant. The *Rájaratnákara* (see Upham's Works, ii. p. 49.) states, that in the same reign "*silk* coverlets were made for the same Dàgoba." Now all these substances, 'glass,' 'silk,' 'coral,' and 'diamond,' are, it is well known, powerful non-conductors; and it is of the last alone that we find any direct notice of its application 'as a protection against lightning.'

To revert to the reign of Sanghatissa: He reigned only four years, at the termination of which he was poisoned by the people, who could no longer bear the oppression of the exactions made during his royal excursions to the "*Eastern*" Provinces.

Owing to a different expression in a parallel passage in the Mahavansa, a difficulty presents itself in identifying the locality here indicated.

Mr. Turnour in his observations on the Mihintala inscriptions, published in the *Ceylon Almanac* for 1834, p. 174 calls this place, 'the *western* villages.' This is clearly, a mistake. The *Mahàvansa*, p. 229, calls it the *pàchìna dìpakan*; and the Tìka to the Mahavansa explains it to be "Mahà tittha pattane pàrato samudda majjè sambùtan pàchinà dìpakan"—'that which lies in the midst of the sea, beyond *Mahâtittha pattana* (Matura) i. e. an island on the east of Matura. Probably, misled by this comment, Mr. Turnour has translated *pachìna dipakan* as the isle of *Pàchìna*. In modern

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times no island of that name has been discovered, and none, certainly, so far as our knowledge extends, was known to ancient Geography. The passage in the Tìkà by no means implies that the name of the *dìpa* was *pàchína*. It explains simply that *dìpa* is 'that which lies in the midst of the sea'—'an islet'; and by *pàchína*, "eastern," we may understand a place beyond *Mahititthapattana* (Matura). That such is the meaning of the word *pàchìna* in the Tìkà, appears from another passage in the Mahawansa p. 229; *Manussà pàchìna vàsino*—'people inhabiting the East,' which Mr. Turnour has rendered 'the inhabitants of the *North*-Eastern *isle*.' Taking, therefore, the resort of Sanghatissa to have been a *pàchìna* or eastern isle, [and an 'island' or *antarípa* being, *jala majjhagatan thalan antaripandìpo*, 'a locality in the midst of water,'] the Tìkà would clearly point at the *Bassa* of Ptolemy, or the modern *Basses*. The position, however, of an island beyond Matura, which is in the *Southern* extremity of the island, might suggest the idea that the Basses, or some other island in that quarter, was not meant by *pàchìna dìpakan* or 'North-Eastern isle.' This again would lead to the inference that the Commentator was mistaken in his identification. For, it is extremely improbable that Sanghatissa, who held his Court at *Anuràdhàpura*, had traversed the

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whole Country from the North to the *South-East* of Ceylon, hundreds of miles, 'with his suite, ministers, and royal consorts' for the purpose of eating *Jambu*. The improbability is indeed so great—notwithstanding that the fruit is described in the Tìkà as one 'peculiarly worthy of princes'—that I am led to doubt the correctness of the Comment, which, whether written by Mahanàma himself, or by any other writer, is, I apprehend, a mistake.

The Text of Mahanàma, on the other hand, which has doubtless adopted the language of ancient historians, may be regarded as stating the real facts, viz. that the excursions of Sanghatissa were to the *pàchina dïpakan*; and that he was poisoned by *manussà pàchìna vàsino*. This leads to an inquiry as to the true meaning of *pàchìna-dípan*.

It will be observed that the expression is a *tatpurusa* Compound, and means 'east-of-the-island,' just as *avara pura* means 'west of the city;' and that such is the case, appears not only from the other passage already quoted from the Mahavansa, viz. *manussà pàchìna vàsinò*; but also from the Attanagaluvansa, where the place to which Sanghatissa repaired is described as having been *pàchìna desan*, 'eastern side, or province.' The above construction is further borne out by the extreme probability of the king's resort having been to a neighbouring province, on the east of Anuràdhapura, which would also be the east

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of the island, in which sense the Attanagaluwansa describes the place.

Upon the death of Sanghatissa, Ghotàbhaya, who was destined (according to the prediction of a blind sage) to reign longer than his two associates, requested Sanghabodhi to assume the reins of Government. But he declined this high honor; and his denunciation of Principalities, dominions, and powers, as recorded by the historian in a beautiful speech, is couched in oriental imagery, and exhibiting a thorough knowledge of man and his depraved nature,—a fact however not borne out by his subsequent conduct. Sanghabodhi was soon prevailed upon by the priesthood to accept the pressing invitation of the people. The historian here dwells on the principles of good government, as having been enunciated by the Prince's preceptor, Nanda, to whose previous discourse on the duties of Man, and the necessity for the early formation of right principles, nearly an entire chapter is devoted.

We append a brief account of Buddhist governments, suggested by these remarks.

The principal elements of Government were originally the same in all countries, and amongst all nations. But, according to the various degrees of civilization to which each community had attained, the constitutions of different governments have been distinguished by different modifications. Those differences

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were also, frequently, the result of peculiar habits of people, and the domestic virtues of nations.

When Buddhism arose out of Brahmanism, and there were no Brahmans as opposed to Buddhists; and the Buddhists themselves, except in the particular variations of a Sect, exhibited no difference from the Brahmans either in a social or domestic point of view,—the notions, too, which the Buddhists derived from their time-honored traditions and usages, were equally those of the other. In all countries, customs are inveterate. They are not easily given up. They often continue after their causes have ceased. Such was the case indeed with Buddhists after they had seceded from the Brahman church.

So minutely have the Buddhists both of Asia and Ceylon regulated their public and private acts by the ancient Hindu traditionary precepts, that we may devote whole pages to the enumeration of them. One or two instances may however suffice. Asoka, even after he became a convert to Buddhism, enjoined 'dutiful service, respect, and alms-giving to *Brahmans* and *Samanas*.* This was in conformity to the vii. 135, of *Manu*; and it is countenanced by the writer of Attanagaluwansa.† The prevalence of Caste amongst the Buddhist Sin-

* Girnar Inscription.

† See Cap. iv. § 6.

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halese, is directly traceable to the religious sanction which the early Brahman writings gave to that Institution. So likewise the employment of *Prohita* Brahaman,* 'the household Chaplain' of the Hindus, was a practice maintained by the Buddhist Monarchs in Ceylon in accordance with the injunction of the Hindu lawgiver. (See Manu, vii. 78). The Devâla System, so diametrically opposed to the tenets of Buddhism, which prevails amongst the Sinhalese, and which is denounced by the writer of the Attanagaluwansa,† is founded upon the Institute of Manu, ii. 28. Thus, also the constitution of Brahmanical governments, which were founded on the *Institutes of Manu*, became the basis upon which the Buddhists carried on the machinery of government.

From the time when *Mahâ Sammata*, 'the Great Elect,' was chosen King by the universal suffrages of the people, the government of Asiatic countries have continued *Monarchical*. For oriental nations seem to have generally regarded "a State without a king as a ship without a steersman, and cheerless as a day without the Sun."‡ The Pali Annals however mention that the Government of Vêsàla (modern Alahabad,)

* Attanagaluvansa Cap. iv. § 4.

† See ib. Cap. iv. § 5.

‡ Old Sinhalese Inscription, Ceyl. Al. p. 191. The same sentiment is expressed in the Hitopadesa. 'If there were no king, a competent leader, then would the people be tossed about like a ship at sea without a steersman.'

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about the period just preceding the Buddhistical era, consisted of an independent confederation of Chiefs or Princes, for the particulars of which we may refer the reader to the Atthakathà to the *Panrínibban Suttan**, and to the Budugunàlankara by the celebrated Vìdàgama.

With the exception however of the Vajjian Confederacy, in the vast Empires of Asia, both the legislative and the Executive powers of government were usually vested in a King. He was the master of the lives and fortunes of his subjects. 'He is fire and air. He is both sun and moon. He is the god of criminal justice. He is the genius of wealth. He is the regent of waters. He is the lord of the firmament.' Manu vii. § 7. He was irresponsible to the people. He was liable to no legal control on the part of his subjects. He was the central point around which every thing else moved. His authority was unbounded. His power for affecting good, or for perpetrating evil, was great. Although according to European principles of Government, such a system may be deemed unl'mited, it was, nevertheless, not without much restraint imposed by surrounding circumstances.

There was, in the first place the natural feeling that the king could only ensure his authority so long as he made himself agreeable to the people.

* See Bengal A. S. J. vii. pp. 994. &c.

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According to the principles on which the first Ruler of the world was appointed, that appointment was held only so long as the subjects did not in one great body demand his dismissal. This they seem frequently to have done when a king was obnoxious to the people. Indeed Asiatics made the sting of oppression felt more directly than the people of England did when trodden down by the tyranny of the Normans*. In Ceylon, when the people were oppressed, they put an end to the king at once. A glance at history cannot fail to show that a large number of Indian kings were either assassinated or deposed. Of the Sinhalese kings, from the time when Wijaya first conquered this Island, to the British Settlement in 1798, several princes were thus deprived of their kingly Office. Of these, Sanghatissa, whose conduct was greatly oppressive to the people was, as we have already seen, poisoned†; and it is scarcely fifty years since the last of the kings of the Sinhalese was taught a lesson, how necessary it was for princes to reign in the affections of their subjects. The case was indeed not different in Asia. Buddhist annals present numerous histories of Princes, who fell victims to misrule and oppression. The history of India just before the Greek domination in Asia, is replete with instances of this kind. Few are

* Macaulay's History of England, i. p. 13.

† See Attanagaluvansa, Cap. iv. § 1.

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ignorant of the rising of the people* upon the intrigues of Chanakka; and the Sanskrit and Pali classics abound in similar popular retaliations. In the Toy-Cart, a cowherd is made to dethrone a king for tyranny; and in another Play the *Uttra Râma Chàritra*, king Ràma is compelled by the clamours of his people to banish his queen. When the people feared that the father of king Kusa had no heir-apparent to the Throne, and traced its cause to the unhealthy indulgences of an Oriental Court, he was obliged by his subjects to expel his courtesans and to confine himself to his Queen Consort.

The love of popularity was also a powerful incentive to "truth, valour, and liberality," without which, says the *Hitopadesa*, "the ruler of the Earth assuredly incurs censure."† The 'censure' here spoken of, is indeed *public opinion*. That opinion was not expressed by a body like the Censorial Tribunal of the Romans; nor through the *Press*,‡ which was anciently unknown in Asia; but, by the people in one body. Many instances on record show that the Buddhists never met together to seek redress for their grievances, but, like the Barons of old England, succeded in obtaining all their demands.

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* "The popu'ation rose en masse,—" Mahawa'sa, p. xli.

† Hitopadesa p, 95.

‡ D'Lolme's Constitution, p. 249.

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But, unlike the English people, the Asiatics never asked for a *Charter of Freedom.* A covenant of the Sovereign was indeed useless. Its provisions were more likely to be left unperformed than the stipulation of the Magna Charta, 'that justice shall not be delayed or sold.' The non-existence of a 'national union,' or a powerful body of chiefs, who like the English barons, identified their own interests with those of the nation at large, rendered a contract on the part of the people ineffectual, and even impossible. The agreement itself, on the part of Asiatic kings, could not be enforced in the absence of a balance of power between the king and his subjects. Either from this cause, or from their ignorance, the Buddhists never strove to regulate and temper the powers of the Sovereign. They did not attempt to take away the practical power of the king. They did not, as we shall hereafter notice, reserve to themselves the great power by which a people could control the acts of their Ruler, viz. the power to *regulate Taxation.* They rather looked to the reality of an actual performance of regal duties, than to the flimsy promises contained in a deed under seal, which, in the absence of those safeguards of constitutional governments, might become 'a dead letter.' Accordingly, when they were threatened with an act of great injustice, 'the population rose en masse.' I shall have

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occasion hereafter to notice the prevalence in Asiatic countries of "monster-meetings;" and the effect they had upon the conduct of the king. In the meantime another of those causes which circumscribed the regal power in Buddhist countries may be mentioned.

Although the king was the sole monarch, yet according to the usages of the East, he seldom did an act without the concurrence of ministers, of whom he had seven or eight.* These, conjointly with Elders,† and learned men,‡ who formed a class of Courtiers or Councillors, were a powerful check upon illegal or unjust acts. The Hitòpodesa says: "Is he a minister, who, at the desire of the king, enjoins what ought not to be done, as if it were proper to be done? It were better to pain the feelings of a prince, than that his destruction should ensue through misconduct." The "pain" of feeling here clearly indicates the *opposition* which the ministers presented to the will of the Sovereign.§

That such a check did exist, appears also from our Historical Annals. When Srì Wikrama Ràja Sinha, the most tyrannical of all the kings of Ceylon, was

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* "The king must appoint seven or eight ministers, who must be sworn." Manu, vii. § 54.

† "That is not a council where there are no elders; and those are not elders who declare not the law."—Hitopodesa, p. 85.

‡ Bhoja Raja is said to have had *nine*, who were called the "nine gems" of his Court.

§ See Cap. iv. § 6.

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told of the excitement produced in England by the intelligence of that bloody tragedy connected with the events in which Major Davy was the chief actor, his reply was: "Do you, or do you not visit the evil administration of public affairs upon your king's ministers? In that business I was not concerned. Let Pilima Talawe bear the blame. I was too young a prince to influence the conduct of my first Adigar. I heard of the event only when it was over. I saved Major Davy's life. Ask the chiefs what care I took of him. Becoming my prisoner, he lived. But his party were in the hands of the Adigar, and perished. Major Davy received many marks of favour from me. I gave him lands, and as much as he wished to eat and drink. He was allowed wives. The laws could grant no more. Did I make those laws?"*

Though there is no ancient record of these Laws, we have nevertheless ample means of knowing that in ancient times, they were not simply the Usages and Customs to which Srì Wikrama referred in the above passage. The existence of written laws may indeed be inferred from the fact that *Nìti*, or 'Jurisprudence,' was one of the sciences which many of our ancient king were taught.† One of them, Tissa, was such a proficient in the laws that he was surnamed *Wohàra*,

* Journal of Reminiscences by W. Granville Esq. pp. 37—8.
† See Sidatsangarà, p. clxix.

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'the Lawyer.'* It is also stated that in the reign of Dapula II. (795 A. D.) the Sinhalese had a code of laws; and the Buddhist annals speak of a *Paveni potthakan*, a 'book of precedents' connected with judicial proceedings.† When, however, these state documents had perished in the several literary conflagrations, which are recorded in history, the Sinhalese law continued to be the *leges non scriptæ*, being the customs which were orally handed down from generation to generation, even as we find them at the present day. Those customs were necessarily derived from, and subject to, the laws of Buddhism. As a specimen, the following definitions of some of the principal *Crimes* are here presented.

(i.) '*Life-slaughter*' (including *murder*) is said to be compounded of five elements; that is to say, 'For the completion of this offence there should be—1. a being which has life—2. a knowledge of that fact.—3. an intention to deprive him or it of life—4. a means, or an endeavour, or expedient, to effect that object—and 5. actual killing.' *Murder* may thence be defined to be, '*the killing of a man, knowing him to be such, by certain expedients or devices, and with intent to deprive him of life.*

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* Mahawansa, p. 226.

† See Atthakathà to the Mahà Parinibban Suttan, Banavàra First.

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(ii.) The requirements to constitute an *accomplice* to the above crime are said to be seven; viz. the two following, in addition to the above five:—1. participation with another; 2. the consent and agreement of that other to kill. The crime itself may thence be defined to be—*the participation with another, and by his instrumentality killing a man, knowing him to be such, with intent to deprive him of life, and by certain expedients or devices.*

(iii.) *Theft* is that crime or sin, which is compounded of the five following elements: 1. taking—2. the property of another—3. with full knowledge thereof—4. deceitfully—and 5. with intent to self-appropriation. When freely translated this definition of Theft, or *Furtum*, seems to be as comprehensive as the one in the Institutes of Justinian, (lib. 3 tit. 4 §.)—*Furtum est contractatio fraudulosa lucri faciendi gratia vel ipsius rei vel etiam usus ejus possessionisve;* and the Sinhalese definition may be laid down as,—the fraudulent taking away of anothers' property, with intent to steal the same (lucri causâ), and *knowing that it is another's.*

(iv.) In order to be an *accomplice* to the last mentioned crime, there ought to be two additional requirements, viz.:—1. participation with another—and 2. the consent or agreement of that other to steal., Hence an accomplice to the crime of theft is *one*

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who, having participated with another, and by his instrumentality, takes away another's property, knowing it to be another's, fraudulently, and with intent to steal.

(v.) *Lying* is compounded of four elements, that is to say, 1. a false statement—2. *suppressio veri*—3. an intention to speak a falsehood—and, 4. a corrupt motive in so doing. And *Perjury*, which, may be included in the above, may thence be defined to be *the swearing of that which is false, by suppressing the truth, with an intention to do so, and with a corrupt motive.*

(vi.) *Slander is the malicious speaking of grossly abusive or disgraceful lnnguage.* Its elements are three in number viz. 1. the malice—2. speaking (or publication,) and 3. the scandalousness of expression.

From a comparison of the Kandian laws, as they are administered at present, with the Institutes of Manu, the ancient laws of this land may be resolved into the following eighteen principal Titles; viz. 1. Debt, on loans for consumption; 2. Deposits, and loans for use; 3. Sales; 4. Transactions among partners; 5 Subtraction of what has been given; 6. Nonpayment of wages or hire; 7. Nonperformance of agreements; 8. Rescission of Contracts or Sales; 9. Disputes between Master and Servant; 10. Questions of Boundary; 11. Assaults; 12. Slander; 13. Larceny; 14. Robbery and other Violence; 15. Adultery; 16 Altercations between

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Husband and Wife, and the enforcement of their duties; 17. Actions for Inheritance; 18. Gambling.*

The Regulations themselves upon the above heads were doubtless simple; for at a time when Ceylon was governed by its own kings, the affairs of Society, and the habits of a people, who were little accustomed to traffic, required no complicated laws. Their disputes were indeed few, and those few were easily settled by their own village Councils or Courts, composed of the heads of families. Their investigations too, it may be believed, were generally characterized by fairness and justice; since the judges, who, like the ancient juries of England, were chiefly the very witnesses in matters affecting the interests of their neighbours, dreaded a departure from the right path, lest they should one day be subjected to the same injustice which they might inflict on others.

Admirable Institutions indeed these were, nearly approaching the Jury system of Europeans. An appeal to the Sovereign from the fiat of this Council was allowed; and in the absence of corrupt ministers, the subject seldom failed to obtain justice; because on the one hand the dread of punishment upon detection, and the terrible consequences of perjury, committed after oaths taken in the face of their supposed miracle-working Temples, were powerful in-

* Institutes of Manu, viii. § 4—7.

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ducements to the people to speak the truth; and on the other hand, as tradition says, the law, though strictly speaking, it was not binding on the king, and could be set aside by him at pleasure; was, nevertheless, continued from very remote antiquity without material alteration; and, in its administration, was respected with a degree of reverence almost incredible. Thus the law, from the respect which Oriental nations have for ancient Institutions, was not without its influence upon the conduct of the Sovereign.

But, the greatest check of all on the king, was the *religion* of the land. By its means the Buddhist people achieved that which the civilized nations of Europe have effected by Philosophy and political science. This does not require any exemplification; and I shall therefore proceed to a consideration of the principles of Buddhist governments.

Judging from the very cause which at first gave rise to the appointment of a king, viz. "the want of some administration by which the lawless could be restrained;" and, according to the institutes of *Mánava Dharma Shàstra,* upon which the policy of the Buddhists was founded, the chief end of Government was 'the protection of the subject.'* To this primary end Buddhist Governments, like all Go-

* Manu, vii. § § 35, 56, 87, 88, 142, &c.

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vernments, were designed to protect our persons and property;* to compel us to satisfy our wants, not by rapine but by industry; to compel us to decide our differences, not by the strong hand, but by arbitration;† and to direct our whole force, as that of one man, against any other society which may offer us injury.‡

My remarks will be confined to these "four means by which protection ought to be extended;"§ but before touching upon the rights of the subject, it may be convenient to notice the rights of the Crown, and the cause which created the duties of both; or the origin of monarchical Government in the East. The Buddhistical annals¶ state that in an early stage of society, and upon the first appearance of crime, men assembled together, and deliberated as follows:

"Friends! most assuredly wicked actions have become prevalent among mankind. Every where, theft, degradation, fraud, and punishment will prevail. It will be most proper that we should elect some one individual, who would be able to eradicate

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* MaCaulays Essays, p. 460.

† Witness the Gamsaba Courts; vide infra; and also Manu, vii. 115—7.

‡ 'Exert their utmost strength in battle.' Manu, vii. 89.

§ Mahavansa, pp. 242, 248.

¶ Vide Agganna Suttan in the Pativagga Section of the Dighanikaya, translated by Turnour in the Bengal A. S. J. for August 1838.

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most fully that which should be eradicated, to degrade that which should be degraded, to expel those who should be expelled; and *we will assign* to him (the person elected) a share of our *Sàli.**'

"Thereupon, these persons having selected an individual, in person more beautiful, in appearance more pleasing, and (in all respects) more calculated to conciliate than any one of themselves; approaching that individual, thus invoked him: 'Man! come hither: that which should be destroyed, annihilate most fully; that which should be degraded, degrade most fully; that which should be rejected, reject: *we will assign* to thee a portion of our *sàli.*'

"The said individual having replied to those persons, 'Friends! be it so!'—he most fully annihilated that which should be annihilated; degraded most fully that which should be degraded; and rejected that which should be expelled; and *they conferred on* him a portion of their *sàli.*

"Thus the great body of mankind having (*sammato*) resolved or elected, and the party elected being thence called *Mahá-sammato,* the first name conferred was '*Mahá sammato,*'† (the great elect;) and being also the lord of (*Khettàni*) 'cultivated lands;' he second-

* Rice. The Atthakatha explains that the quantity which each individual assigned to the Great Elect was 1 amunam, or 8 paralis.

† This individual was SAKYA in one of his former incarnations.

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ly acquired the appellation of '*Khattiya*;'* and as he is considered by his righteous administration to have (*rangeti*) 'rendered (mankind) happy,' hence the appellation of 'rája' was thirdly acquired."

Thus at the very commencement, when, according to Buddhist accounts, a king was *elected*, there was a compact between the king and the people. The former agreed to protect the subjects, and the latter, in consideration thereof, stipulated to support the king.† But they stumbled at the very threshold. They authorized one party to carry out the contracts of both. They left the king to perform his own part of the Agreement, as well as to *regulate* and exact what they had promised on their part. This was an error which for ever deprived them of power "constitutionally" to exercise a control over the acts of the Sovereign. That power, which was the only guarantee for good Government, could not moreover exist without intelligence and knowledge—"knowledge diffused through all ranks of society." Hence too, the origin of *taxation* as an inherent right of the Sovereign. At first it would seem that taxation was confined to *Grains*, that which contributed mainly to the support of the people; and that each man had to

* "Ksattriya," according to the *Hindus*, is the military, or warrior caste, which with them is the second class, the 'Brahan' being the first.

† The king protects the people, and they aggrandize the king, *Hitopadesa*, p. 72.

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pay but an amunam of paddy in the year.* But as the people advanced in civilization, and their wants increased, taxes were levied upon different other objects, such as "skins, gums, trees, stones," &c.;† and on cattle, gems, gold, silver, flesh, honey, butter, perfumes, medicinal substances, liquids, flowers, roots, fruits, potherbs, grass, pottery, utensils made of canes or stones &c.‡ Yet, that which yielded most to the Royal Treasury, and indeed that which fell least heavy on the subject, from the facilities afforded by Government to the agricultural interests of the country, was the *land* tax.

All lands belonged to the Sovereign as the descendant of *Wijaya*, the first king who had conquered this island, and made a settlement of it for his followers. Anciently no sales took place of Crown lands. Whatever the natives possessed, was either granted to them 'for life,' or several generations, or for so long a time as 'the sun and moon shall endure'—i. e. in the language of English Conveyancing, 'for ever.' One of the consequences of this mode of granting land, was that the grantee was obliged to perform various services to the State, or to the Chiefs, according to his caste, which originally implied the *trade*

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* Vide note ante, p. xlvi.

† Introduction to the Mahavansa p. xxxix.

‡ Manu vii. 130—2.

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which he carried on. This was however a state of things which "circumscribed the power of the chiefs; and it was only by antagonistic influences, such as the imbecility of the supreme power, that the all-controlling influence, naturally in the hands of the lord and disposer of the soil, was in any degree modified. The chain of duties and services thus established, bound every class and every individual, from the highest to the lowest rank, and was a great moving machine, applied to enforce the civil and judicial administration of government, to regulate the pursuits of agriculture, or to carry on an offensive and defensive war; and (the duties themselves) though resembling in some measure the duties and services established by the feudal laws of Europe, differ in that the latter were introduced with a view to check and keep within proper boundaries the power of barons, who were nevertheless actual lords of the soil, and held in servitude the population attached to that soil, while in the former, the sole right to the land was centred in the king or lord paramount."*

From this particular tenure of lands, tantamount to a tax, the people had to endure much oppression on the part of the Sovereign, and the Chiefs. I have already alluded to the case of Sanghatissa. It is also stated in the Buddhistical Annals that in the time of

* Pridham's Ceylon, ii. p. 786.

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Gotama Buddha, the inhabitants of Pataàli suffered great hardships by being frequently turned out of their homes for a fortnight and a month at each time, in order to accomodate the officers and messengers, who were continually passing and repassing between *Vesáli* and *Rajagaha*, two principal seats of Government.*

Although taxation was thus carried on by some of the Buddhist Sovereigns to such an inordinate extent as to 'impoverish the people';† yet, it would seem that under good and righteous administrations it was exceedingly moderate.‡ Tradition asserts that the usual tax anciently imposed upon paddy lands were the *Tithes*;§ and this would seem probable at least judging from the Institutes of Manu which regulated the conduct of all our Monarchs. Where, however, the tax was not taken in kind, and it was previously ascertained that the lands yielded plentifully, the tax imposed was 'at the rate of five pelas with a *madaran*¶ of four ridis; or, one amunam and three pelas with a madaran of a pagoda, for each amunam of land according to its fertility.‖

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* See Atthakatha to the Maha Parinibban Suttan.

† Inscription at Dambulla No. 5. See Ceylon Almanac for 1834, p. 189.

‡ Ib.; also see Manu Cap. vii. § § 131, 137, 138, 139.

§ Inscription at Palonnoruva; See Ceylon Almanac for 1834, p. 155.

¶ *Madaran*, means lit. "mud gold," and in a secondary sense "field money;" the *money* paid as a tax upon *fields*; or tax upon paddy lands.

‖ See Inscription No. 5 in the Almanac for 1834, p. 189.

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Not possessing the requisite information as to the nature and fertility of paddy lands in ancient times, it is impossible to reduce this to an aliquot part of the entire yield. But, I may, perhaps, without exaggeration state, in the language of the poet, that in this favored land, with a greater population* than at present,

> "A time there was———————
> When every rood of ground maintained its man."
>
> GOLDSMITH.

In this state of the agricultural prosperity of Ceylon, and with a view to encourage honest industry, some of our Rulers, it is remarkable, established a Law which they engraved on the Rocks of this island, 'that considering those who labored with the bill-hook in clearing thorny jungles for cultivation, earned their livelihood distressfully, such lands should ever be exempt from taxation;'† and again, 'that since the cultivation of Chenas was attended with great distress, the taxes on dry grains should cease for evermore.'‡

Having thus briefly glanced at the question of taxation, and the liberal policy which guided some of the Buddhist monarchs in exacting it, I shall proceed to

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* "I think no one who examines the great and general remains that evince the extent of population once scattered over Ceylon, will be inclined to reckon the number that must have been at one time in the island at less than five millions of people." Forbes' Ceylon, vol. i. p. 2.

† Rock Inscription. See Ceylon Almanac for 1834, p. 189.

‡ Inscription, ib. p. (855) 185.

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the rights of the people, which may be summed up in one word—'protection.'

That by this 'protection' our *temporal* welfare was *alone* regarded, appears indeed with sufficient clearness. There is no instance on record which shows that the Buddhists considered it necessary or just to interfere with the free will of the subject in a religious point of view. On the contrary, we have abundant evidence to prove that they regarded it as highly improper to interfere with the religious belief of man. Manu himself has declared, "Having conquered a country, let him respect the deities adored in it, and their virtuous priests." vii. § 201. The Buddhist Monarchs clearly saw that to require the people, to embrace a particular faith would compel them to inflict torments, and would lead to martyrdom, both which were opposed to Buddhism. They knew moreover, that the penalties which they might inflict would not tend to repress the offence. They might put down the outward expression of opinions. They might stop the visible forms of religious worship. But they could not reach the mind by any act of legislation, or the decree of the state. The mind is the spring of action.

Manopubbàgamà dhammà ; &c,

Mind precedes action. Actions proceed from the mind. The mind, as well as the mouth and the body, is the cause of religion or irreligion. In religion, the

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motive alone is chief. The Buddhists therefore made No Creed "the established religion" of the land. They suffered each man to follow the dictates of his own mind, the bent of his own inclinations. They left undisturbed the religion of a conquered people. Hence the religious toleration which distinguished the Buddhist Governments of Ceylon and India. Even Srì Wikrama Ràja Sinha, the last of the kings of Ceylon, who made himself obnoxious to the people, "always protected Christians."* We read in the Mahâwansa that in the very infancy of the Ceylon Government, more than twenty three centuries ago, the professors of all religious faiths received alike the countenance and support of the state. Whilst the new settlers "were engaged in initiatory measures for the organization of a new state;" whilst, encouraged by the facilities afforded to settlers, 'Ceylon received large forces of emigrants from the continent of India;' whilst our Monarchs 'were busy in opening roads and forming Tanks for the promotion of agriculture'; the religion of Gotama, which he had personally established in Ceylon, received no support or encouragement, *to the exclusion* of other prevailing religions. For it would appear that 'annual demon offerings were provided;' 'Nigantha devotees were permitted to rush in amongst

* "Reminiscences" by Mr, Granville, p. 34.

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the Buddhists;' 'hundreds of persons of various religious denominations were provided with habitations at *public expense*'; and 'the worshippers of Brahmâ, and the adorers of Saivâ, alike received the support of the State.'* Nor was the case different in India. When Brahmanism was in later times superseded by Buddhism, no hostility was shown to Brahmanism by the State. The contest was between the professors of one faith and those of the other; and yet it was not a conflict with the sword but the tongue. The Brahamans were not execluded from any State privileges. They received the same protection which was extended to the Buddhists. There were no civil disabilities on grounds of religion. Although, doubtless, Brahmans were excluded from a great proportion of the personal bounties of Buddhist sovereigns; yet that they were not left without 'bountiful gifts' is a fact which even the Attanagaluvansa clearly attests.† In one of the Rock Inscriptions of Asoka, that Monarch 'desires that the ascetics of all creeds might reside in all places. All these ascetics profess alike the controul which people should exercise over themselves and the purity of the soul. But people have different opinions and different inclinations.'

And again: 'A man ought to honor his own faith

* Mahavansa, Cap. x. p. 67.

† Cap. iv. § 6.

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only; but he should never abuse the faith of others. It is thus that he will abstain from harm to others. There are even circumstances where the religion of others ought to be honored. And in acting thus, a man fortifies his own faith, and assists the faith of others. He who acts otherwise, diminishes his own faith, and hurts the faith of others.'

These facts may lead to the inference, that Buddhists possessed a greater share of religious *Freedom* than other, even modern, nations.

But "Buddhism," says Sir Emerson Tennent, "although tolerant of heresy, has ever been vehement in its persecution of schism."* In another passage the same learned writer defines the Schismatics to be "firm believers in Buddha, who had ventured to put an independent interpretation on points of faith."† Now, a close examination of the several cases of schism which are recorded in history, cannot fail to shew that the above is conceived in error. In the first place those against whom the Buddhists "rose in fierce indignation" were not invariably "*firm* Buddhists." They were generally impostors. They were in some instances Brahmans who, for the sake of gain, fraudulently associated themselves with orthodox priests,‡

* History of Ceylon, vol. i. p. 378.
† Ib. p. 379.
‡ Dipavansa.

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and 'by craft and intrigue attempted to subvert the religion of the vanquisher'* But whether "impostors" or firm Buddhists, it is, in the next place, very clear that they were invariably *priests*. Sir Emerson Tennant himself says in regard to the Wytulya schism, "it is evident that the innovation was introduced under the *garb* of Buddha."† So it was with respect to all schisms, which arose both in Asia and Ceylon. Not a single *layman* was found in their body. Even the Brahmans, who had attempted to subvert the dhamma, did so after 'assuming the yellow robe.'‡ In the next place, they were not simply priests, but priests who had gained admission into, and continued to remain in, the monasteries of the Ortho dox bhikkhus.§ Thus "the ten thousand sinful bhikkhus," to whom "the orthodox priests awarded the penalty of degradation," (censure)¶ in the tenth year of Kàlàsoka, were *inmates* of the *Mahavana* Vihàra founded in the time of Gotama. The schismatics who had been visited with pains and penalties in the reign of Asoka were also *residents* of Asokàràma, a monastery of orthodox Buddhists.‖ The originators of the Dhammaruchika schism in Ceylon

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* Ràjaratnàkara, Ch. ii. p. 61.
† History of Ceylon, p. 379 note.
‡ Mahavansa, Chap. v. p. 38.
§ Ib. Also see Dìpàvansa.
¶ Mahavansa, p. 19.
‖ Ib. Introduction, p. liii.

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were occupants of "the Abhayagiri Vihàra which was constructed by Wattagamini."* The Sagalika schismatics were those who had "established themselves at the Jetavana built by king Mahasen."† So likewise the supporters and renovators of the Wytulya schism were priests attached to the Abhayagiri.‡ It is, again, a remarkable fact that wherever parties had seceded from the original tenets of the religion, and quitted the monasteries of the Orthodox priests, both the Buddhists and their Buddhist Sovereigns left them wholly unmolested. Witness the case of the ten thousand Vajjians, who, after their expulsion, founded seventeen sects, set aside the first compilation, and substituted their own.§ Hence it would seem that the parties on whom the Buddhists inflicted pains and penalties were not simply Buddhists who had honestly differed on points of faith, but men, who, *wearing the garb of Buddha, and sharing with the ministers of his faith their monasteries and their gains,* attempted to introduce innovations into the religion of Gotama. Lastly, it is important to know what these "impious impugners" did. 'They imposed upon the people.' They practised deceptions.¶ They wrongfully set aside the word of Buddha

* Mahavansa, p. liii,
† Mahavansa, p. liii.
‡ Ib. p. 232.
§ See Appendix to my Kachchàyana's Grammar,
¶ Mahavansa, p. 53.

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authenticated in sacred convocation. They set up their own doctrines, and propounded them as those of their great Teacher.* They performed all ceremonies according to their own wishes without reference to the Orthodox rules. They obstructed also the outward forms of worship, and hindered the free exercise of religious duties. In consequence of their numerical preponderance and their schisms, others were unable to regulate their conduct according to the rules of the Orthodox faith. The Uposatha was suspended for seven years.† Such conduct, subversive of all order, demanded interference and punishment. And the right itself to interfere was founded upon principles of universal justice. *Sic utere tuo ut alienum non lædas.* But what were the punishments inflicted upon these offenders. The historians say, they were degraded, (Mah. p. 42). They were "disrobed" or stripped of their sacerdotal garments, (Dìpàvansa, and Ràjaratnàkara ii. p. 65.) They were "expelled," (Mah. p. 42.) And the only other punishment which we notice, is that which the Mahavansa records at p. 232, of the offence having been visited with "excommunication and banishment."‡ Surely such punishments, even if they may be characterized as "persecution," can no more be

* Mahavansa, p. 39. Also see Dìpàvansa.

† Mahavansa, p. 39.

‡ The Ràjaratnákara adds branding on the back, but this is not supported by the Mahavansa, or any other early historical work.

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denounced than the expulsion of a person who disturbs a Christian congregation, or the judicial censure and suspension pronounced on the Authors of 'the Essays and Reviews.' At all events the facts above stated do not in the least detract from that estimate which we have formed of Buddhist Governments, as having been the most distinguished for religious Toleration.

Indeed in respect of religious toleration, the Buddhists claim a superiority which can be assigned to few Governments of either ancient or modern times. There never was a Shadrach, a Meshach, or an Abednego consigned to 'a fiery furnace' by a Buddhist monarch, for persisting in religious belief. No Socrates amongst the Buddhists suffered for teaching opinions which they thought dangerous. Nor again was any teacher condemned by them to the ignominious death of the Cross for working the Salvation of man.

It is unnecessary to multiply examples of religious persecution amongst different nations. History abounds with instances which shock humanity. Indeed it is a relief to the mind to return from a contemplation of those sanguinary details given in European History, to our own Asiatic Annals, which clearly prove that *Buddhist Kings* never *coerced* their subjects in matters regarding religion. All that they did was to place religious instruction within the reach of the people.

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Thus Asoka sent out Missionaries to different parts of Asia, and into Ceylon. He, in the thiteenth year of his reign, appointed Dharma Mahàmantrì or officers of Religion, whose business it was to preside over all matters connected with Buddhism, and cause its spread amongst people of all sects.* But here the interference of the State was not only necessary, but many circumstances conspired to render it unobjectionable. For, the great mass of the population in Buddhist countries were indeed ignorant people. They were utterly incapable of forming an opinion for themselves on a matter so difficult as religion. They too, on their part, sought the protection of the Sovereign as a child does that of its father. These kings on the other hand were superior in intelligence to their subjects, as a father is to his child. Many of them also loved their subjects as a parent loves his offspring.† Thus, according to the very tests laid down by Macaulay,‡ Buddhist governments may be declared to

* They (the Mahamantra) shall also be spread among the warriors, the Brahmans, the mendicants, the destitute, and others, without any obstruction, for the happiness of the well-disposed, in order to loosen the bonds of those who are bound, and liberate those who are confined, through the means of holy wisdom disseminated by pious teachers; and they will proceed to the outer cities and fastnesses of my brother and sister, and wherever any other of my kindred may be; and the ministers of morals, those who are appointed as superintendents of morals, shall wherever the moral law is established, give encouragement to the charitable and those addicted to virtue. With this intent this Edict is written and let my people obey it.' *Asoka's Ins. Edict, v.*

† 'Let him act as a father to his people.' Manu, vii. 80. He entertained for mankind at large the compassion that a parent feels for his children.' *Mahavansa*, p. 242.

‡ See his Essays p. 461.

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have been "*parental.*" Hence the reason and indeed the duty—not 'to *regulate* (as stated by Dr. Johnson) the religion of the people,'* but—to place instruction in the religion of the Ruler's conscience within the reach of his subjects.

Connected with religious instruction, is the interference of the State in the *education* of the people. That Buddhist Sovereigns encouraged education by holding out munificent rewards to scholars, is abundantly testified in the Buddhist annals; and instances are indeed not wanting to show that Princes themselves taught their subjects the Arts and Sciences in which they were proficient.† But little or nothing was necessary to be effected beyond this. For, according to the state of society in ancient times, Government had no occasion to establish schools. The priesthood alone exercised this privilege. Nearly every village in the country had a monastery; and every monastery in the kingdom furnished the nucleus of an educational establishment. There was no necessity to appoint Teachers. They were identical with the incumbents of Temples, and hundreds of educated priests resident in them. No payment was ever made by Government to the teachers; for the priests were maintained by the

* Boswell, vol. iv. p. 14.

† See Mahawansa, p. 242,

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charities of the people, and the lands dedicated for the benefit of the monasteries.

From the Spiritual I now come to the *Temporal* liberty of the subject, and here I may first allude to the system of *Caste.*

It is a commonly received error that the system of Castes, which was recognized by Buddhist Governments, was opposed to the teachings of Gotama. As the founder of Christianity and his Apostles kept distinct "the things which were Cæsars," from "the things which belonged to God;" so likewise Gotama drew a distinction between Caste in a *religious* light, and Caste as a *social* Institution. As indeed ancient Philosophers cultivated natural science—not with a view to increase the conveniences of life, but—simply as a 'study subsidiary to the art of disputation'; so Gotama in preaching against Brahmanical exclusiveness, and in favor of the *universal equality* of mankind, did not preach in favor of *Universal Emancipotion.* Nor had he, it seems, any wish to ameliorate the *social* condition of man, but to raise him from moral degradation, and to give to his religion an attraction which other forms of faith had commenced to receive in his time. For, he scarcely uttered a word, against the conventions of society—this social polity of oriental nations, which had its commencement in very early times. The whole tenor of his prediction as to the

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system of castes being set aside in after times, about the period when his own religion should cease to exist, shews that in a social point of view he was *not opposed* to these distinctions. No where does he denounce it as *sinful;* nor reprobate it as *pernicious to society.* He simply drew the distinction between man in a *social* point of view, and man in a *religious* light. His words were:—'Amongst mankind, who are scrupulous in regard to their lineage, the *Khattiya* is supreme; but he, who is endowed with *Vijjà* and *Charana,** is supreme amongst (both) devas and men.'†

Thus, it was in accordance with the spirit of Gotama's teachings that the distinction of castes was recognized by Buddhist kings. They looked upon each caste as a particular community, or petty estate by itself. Each existed for the purpose of relieving the wants of the others. Every caste contributed to the comforts of the rest. Those who rendered services to some, received certain other services from others. The system, then, had all the advantages which accrue from a division of labour, without which 'the world could not go on,'‡ and the evils which had resulted

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* For a definition of these terms, see extracts in my Introduction to Kachchayana's Pali Grammar, p. xxxiv.

† Buddhistical Annals in Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal for August 1838.

‡ Macaulay's Essays, p. 460.

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from this system in a social point of view were clearly the creation of the people themselves, and not of the states to which they belonged.

Politically, one of the serious evils which the system of castes produced in ancient times, was that all the inferior classes, though educated (i. e. able to read and write,) were, nevertheless, devoid of all honorable feeling, and independence of thought and action; and exhibited a more servile bearing and deportment towards their superiors than even the West Indian Kaffirs, sold in the market place. It is this state of things which induced "the natives of Ceylon (as recorded by Major Forbes) readily to acknowledge any ruler who could reach the throne."* This is indeed a fact, which has been proved in Ceylon (for the last time, it is to be hoped,) within the last twelve years. I refer to the case of the ignorant Kandians of 1848. At that period of extraordinary depression, and of still greater excitement, when low country gang-robbers, availing themselves of the opportunity to plunder, set up a low-caste "thief" as a Royal Prince of the Solar Race, the deluded Kandians "were driven to him like a flock of sheep"† They moved and did as they were bidden. Though their 'principles,' like those of Nottingham, "did not permit them to bear any part in making a

* Eleven Years in Ceylon, i. p. 18.

† Sir Anthony Oliphant; see Blue Book for 1851.

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king; yet when a king had been made, their principles bound them to pay him an obedience more strict than he could expect from those who made him."* The people of the lower castes, (says the Rev. Spence Hardy,) are comparatively indifferent as to what Government they live under. If it be beneficient, it brings to them no boon; if oppressive, no additional curse. The village in which they reside, is frequently surrounded by the abodes of men of other castes, with whom they have little intercourse; and political intrigue is no more to them than to the timid fawn that crosses their pathway as they traverse the forest. The great events of the age are disregarded, or perhaps entirely unknown.† And it is recorded of India, by Robertson, that while hostile armies were fighting a battle in one field, the peasants of the country were ploughing or reaping in the next.

In countries where castes existed, and the lowest of them (Sudra,) from their mental debasement and poverty, were fitted for little more than servitude, *slavery* did not, perhaps, exist to any great extent. And though, judging from the Institutes of Manu,‡ no slaves were anciently attached to the soil; and though, as stated by Arrian, "the most memorable matter was, that all Indians

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* Macaulay's History of England.

† Eastern Monachism, p. 379.

‡ See Cap. viii. v. 413, 414.

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were perfectly free, or exempt, or independent; and no man was a slave, or servant, or attendant; in which they resembled the Lacedæmonians, but the Indian had the advantage of them in having no Helots;"*—yet the Arians, as they advanced from the North-West of Asia to Hindustan, appear to have adopted in this respect the practices of the western nations, such as the Persians. The earliest Buddhist Inscriptions of both Asia and Ceylon, make mention of *Slaves*. Every Pali annallist, whether religious or historical, alludes to slaves. The Mahavansa records that the dowry which the king of Panduwa bestowed upon his royal daughter, who was wedded to our first monarch, consisted of, among other things, *Slaves;* p. 51. Slaves are also frequently mentioned in other parts of the same work. See pp. 56, 7, &c. We may therefore conclude that Domestic Slavery was as much known under the Hindu as under the Buddhist Governments, as it was universal throughout the East generally. Gotama himself has laid his Canon against the sale of man by man; yet it does not clearly appea hat Buddhists carried on human traffic upon any extensive scale.

Neither Slavery nor the system of castes, in the least abridged what may be called the power of the mass of the people to meet in large bodies, to protest against

* See Royal A S. J vi. p 411.

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the wrongful acts of Government. In this respect the habits of Eastern nations present a great contrast to those of Europeans. The former knew not the European practice of appointing a deputation to wait upon the head of Government. They were not accustomed to present their grievances in written Petitions. When they suffered any grievances, the effectual mode in which they made it known to Government, was by appearing before their Ruler personally, in large numbers.* Thus the people of the mother country, from whence Ceylon was peopled, on finding that a 'lion had laid their country waste' 'repaired to the king for protection.' So likewise, when Prince Wijaya, our first Sovereign, 'became a lawless character,' 'the *nation* enraged, clamoured—Execute thy Son.'† They thought, consistently with usage, the examples presented in history, and those familiar to them in their religious works, what amounts to the European adage—that "the voice of the people was the voice of god." It was with similar feelings indeed that the Kandians and the low country Sinhalese met in 1848, to obtain a repeal of certain taxes. According to the Sinhalese proverb, *dahasata udahas ne*—'no displeasure to a thousand,' they trusted to their numbers for protection, and thought that they might with propriety insist upon their repeal. Thus,

* See Cap. vi. § 14.

† Mahavansa pp, 45, 46.

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like children, they became noisy and clamarous; and appeared in a body to request that their wishes might be complied with. This was however not understood by the authorities. They mistook the Kandian agitation of the 6th of July 1848, for a determined resistance to constituted authority; the excitement of the people, for hostility to Government; their noisy remonstrance, for a disturbance of the peace; and their peculiar mode of address, for downright insolence.*

It would thus seem that monster meetings which the enlightened Governments of Europe prohibit as calculated to affect and unsettle the public peace, the ancient Buddhist Governments permitted as a matter of course; and what the former permit, viz. peaceable meetings of small sections of the community, were not known to the latter. Even the individual expression of opinions on the acts of kings and ministers, was not admissible under the constitution of Oriental Governments. Yet, the subject was permitted to lay his grievances personally at the foot of the throne. The necessity for ascertaining the wishes of the people,† was as much felt by Buddhist princes, as they clearly appreciated "public opinion." "Spies," as the reader is aware, formed a necessary element in the

* See particulars in Blue Book Appendix, p. 105.

† Mahavansa, p. xli.

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constitution of Eastern Governments. They were the daily Newspapers of Buddhist countries—the Court-Journals of the East. Their functions were not confined to troublous periods of internal commotions, or foreign wars. They were busy at all times, and at *all* places. Asoka, that zealous Buddhist Monarch of Asia, says in one of his edicts:—

"Hitherto attention has not been given to reports and affairs incessantly, or at all times; and on this account I decree that at all times, even when I take recreation in the apartments of the women and children, or in conversation, or in riding, or in gardens, in all places,—there shall be informers (Prativadaka) to make known to me the wishes of the people; and every where I will occupy myself with the welfare of the people; and whatever I declare, or whatever the Mahamantra shall declare, shall be referred to the Council for decision. Thus shall reports be made to me. This have I every where and in every place commanded; for, to me there is not satisfaction in the pursuit of worldly affairs: the most worthy pursuit is the prosperity of the whole world."* In our own country the same practice had anciently existed; and to facilitate individual complaints, and to give access to the very fountain of justice, some of the kings had "at the head of their beds, a bell with a long rope in order

* See Inscription.; Tablet vi.

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that it might be rung by those who sought redress."* Again, what some of our Eastern Monarchs were too proud to hear publicly, they sought earnestly to learn in disguise. Not only the grievances of the people, but their opinions on the policy of Government, were alike ascertained by stealth. I may relate two instances from History.

When Chandragupta, and his intriguing Minister Channaka, found that no advantage could be gained by the continuance of a war, in which they were engaged, they relinquished Military operations, travelled about the country in disguise, and sought "to acquire a knowledge of the sentiments of the people." Whilst thus roaming about the country, listening to the conversation of the people, they met with a hopper-woman who handed a hot pan-cake to her little child. The little urchin, unlike most children, began to eat the centre of the cake, leaving the edges. This strange conduct soon attracted the attention of the mother, and she exclaimed, "Thy conduct, my boy, is like that of Chandragupta in his attempt to take possession of this kingdom." "How so?" inquired the boy. "Why" replied the mother "thou in thy great eagerness to swallow the cake, hast eaten the middle only, leaving the outside; so likewise Chandragupta in his ambition to be a

* Mahavansa, p. 128.

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monarch, has invaded the heart of the country without subduing the frontiers." The listeners had comprehended the moral of this discourse even before the mother began to explain it to the boy. Thus learning a lesson from this poor hopper-woman, Chandragupta and his minister resumed the war; and, by first subduing the frontiers, acquired an immense army, and speedily seized the sovereignty of *Dhana Nanda*.

In our own country kings frequently profited, and were urged to duty, by listening to similar conversation. Gajàbàhu whilst roaming in the city in disguise, with the object of ascertaining the grievances of the people, heard a poor woman weep, and, thinking her cries might be the result of some injustice inflicted by his ministers, marked her door with a piece of chalk and returned to the palace. Next morning, after instituting an enquiry from his ministers into the state of the country generally, the king sent for the woman whose door he had marked, and ascertained that she had been weeping for her children, who were two out of the 12,000 Sinhalese whom a Solian Prince had taken away captive during the previous reign. This incident led to a war.* Gajàbàhu soon resented the affront, reclaimed the captives, restored to the

* That monarch, whose subjects are carried from his kingdom, by ruffians, while they call aloud for protection, and he barely looks on them with his ministers, is a dead, and not a living, king.'—*Manu*, vii. § 143.

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widow her sons, and brought down additional captives whom he settled in the Alutkùr corle, where they, from their language and manners, exhibit such a vast difference from the real Sinhalese of the land.*

From the above facts, it may be inferred that Buddhist monarchs had an inkling of what is now known as the *public press.* Not less indeed was their appreciation of what is now called the *trial by Jury.* The *Gansabas* were ancient institutions. They had all the elements of the Jury system. They served to produce all the advantages which resulted from Juries.

Apart from these popular assemblies, which regulated the trifling affairs of each village, the higher tribunals for the disposal of more important matters seem to have had the assistance of three Jurors, who are called "*Assessors*" by Manu.†

The experience of the Sinhalese, as well as that of three successive European nations, has proved the high value of the Jury system in Ceylon. I have already referred to this element in the constitution of Sinhalese Courts. The Portuguese made no alteration in this respect, but retained the Sinhalese form of Government almost in its integrity.‡ Although the Dutch introduced the Jurisprudence of their country, and did not recognize a Jury system; yet they clearly saw the

* See Extract from Ràjawaliya in my Sidatsangarà.

† See his Institutes viii, 10.

‡ See Lee's Translation of Ribeiro.

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necessity for the Jury element in the Tribunals of the land. One of the Governors, Baron Van Inhoff, says in his Instructions to his Successors,—"In Colombo especially, every man who knows how fond the natives are of litigation, must feel the necessity of a native or rather a mixed tribunal for the settlement of disputed property."* The ablest and most experienced amongst the English Judges of this Island, such as Johnston, Marshall, and Carr, have publicly acknowledged the efficiency and value of the then so-called "first-class" Sinhalese Jurymen in Ceylon. This may be illustrated by a solitary instance which is of sufficient Historical importance to be here noticed. I refer to the state prosecution of 1835.

At that period three Sinhalese Gentlemen "one of whom had held the highest situation among his countrymen," were tried, together with some Buddhist priests, before the Supreme Court at Kandy. They were charged with High Treason upon eleven Overt Acts. They were arraigned before 13 Jurors and a British Judge who was not less distinguished for his talents than for his piety. Six of them were Europeans of education and high station, and the rest native Sinhalese, "chosen and selected by name, by the prisoners themselves from a vast number of Jurors, as men in whose probity,

* Dutch Records, in Lee's Ribeiro.

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intelligence and general qualifications for the solemn duties imposed upon them, they could repose unlimitted confidence."* Tho trial lasted about eleven days. Thirty-six witnesses were examined for the Crown; and about half of that number for the defence. No European in the Island doubted the truth of the evidence for the prosecution. To Sir William Norris the presiding Judge, the witnesses for the Crown appeared "respectable," whilst the appearance of most of the witnesses arraigned against them was 'very little in their favor.' The law officers of the Crown were not anxious to press their rights, since they considered the case was too clear to call for any *reply*. The English Jurymen, were convinced of the guilt of the prisoners; but the native portion of that Jury were not. They were intimately acquainted with the character of the natives, their habits, wants, and grievances, and their feelings towards the British Government. They were not deterred by what their foreman had risen to communicate, as an 'unpleasant circumstance which had occurred with regard to the native Jurors.' They did not shrink from their strict line of duty, and the stern dictates of their consciences. They despised the unworthy attempts resorted to with a view to fix guilt on the innocent, to subvert the fountains of justice, and to bring dishonor on their

* The Judge's Charge, see Report of Trial; p. 80.

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verdict. They gave that "opinion which was alone consistent with their oaths, their conscience, and their allegiance." That opinion, which prevailed as that of *the majority*, declared that 'the witnesses for the Crown were perjured.' The judge expressed his "surprise" at the result. The Europeans Jurors referred to the "unpleasant circumstance" which their foreman was not permitted to state. The Crown law-officers were chagrined. English newspapers doubted the honesty of the Sinhalese Jurors. Europeans generally denounced the verdict as infamous. English Historians for a long time vied with each other in assailing the verdict.* Yet no native with the faintest glimmering of the merits of the case, ever believed the truth of the evidence, or doubted the justice of the verdict. Those however, who had been conversant with the facts, or had been present at the trial, were fully convinced of the innocence of the prisoners. The people began more than ever to respect the Institutions of the country, and especially this "which they both appreciated and enjoyed".† They expressed confidence in the ordeal by Jury, and were grateful to Government for this great palladium of liberty which came to them from the ruling nation. The Government themselves were, though

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* Forbes' Eleven Years.—Pridham's Ceylon.—Sirr's Account of Ceylon.

† See Blue Book for 1850, Q. 2549.

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a long time afterwards, convinced of their error, of the innocence of the prisoners, and the correctness of the verdict which had been previously assailed. They gave the Mahà Nilame the highest office they could give him.* They restored Dunuwille to office, and appointed him the Superintendent of Police over the very District in which he was charged with having attempted a rebellion; and as the last act of this important case, we have the evidence of the then Colonial Secretary, before the House of Commons, in which he declares that the case which he had prosecuted was false.† This therefore furnishes the most triumphant vindication of the trial by Jury in Ceylon.

It also proved the value of native Jurors. Indeed it cannot be wondered at that an Ordeal so much adapted to the ancient institutions of the Sinhalese, so much in accordance with their feelings, and so much calculated to promote justice and vindicate the truth, has worked well in this Island. It is however believed by some and that belief has led to the abolition of Trial by Assessors in Ceylon,—that the association of three Assessors with the Civil Judge is by no means productive of beneficial results. Never has there been a greater mistake; and the mistake arises from a misapprehension of the causes which led to an unsatisfactory result. Before the Enactment of

* Blue Book Q. 8999.

† Blue Book Q. 8995.

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the Ordinance No. 19 of 1844 no complaint was made against either the Jury or Assessor system. I have disposed of the only case before that date on which the English public had expressed an opinion hostile to it. Before that Ordinance the public felt no "inconvenience" by the right of challenge exercised by prisoners. The Crown itself seldom had occasion to exercise that right. The Government were never before, as they have subsequently been, "compelled to prepare the Jury lists with caution, so that there should not be a preponderance of natives over Europeans."* Amongst the jurors themselves there was formerly great unanimity. The Sinhalese jurors were not associated with those with whom free discussion on the merits of a case was rendered difficult from different causes. There was no disparity in the scale of intelligence between the individual members of a Sinhalese jury. They were composed of men, of the same class, in the same walks of life, and possessed of the same standard of intelligence. They were familiar to each other. The only evil which resulted from this system was, not an evil affecting the administration of justice, but, an obstacle to social improvement. But in 1844, when the Government with a view to abolish class legislation, which led to "endless discord," introduced the Ordinance to which I have already referred, the

* Blue Book for 1850, p. 72.

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efficiency of the jury system itself was impaired; and the system of assessors in the District Courts was rendered "a mockery" of a noble institution. It was in this wise. The framers of the Ordinance had only one object in view, viz., the compulsion of the proud *Vellàlas* to sit with low-caste men. In their anxiety to bring about this object, the Government lost sight of more important matters. They threw open the ury-box to all 'intelligent and respectable' men who spoke either the English, Sinhalese, or Tamil. Even an ability to "read and write" one of the above languages, was made to depend upon a Proclamation subsequently to be issued. In thus rendering all the Sinhalese eligible to serve on Juries, the Government ailed to notice the fact, that even in England "the most vehement partisans of universal suffrage in parliamentary elections, never require that the jury-box should be open to all comers."* They forgot that the qualification of an "ability to read and write" did not alone secure the most intelligent jurymen. If this were alone a sufficient qualification, the Sinhalese would indeed be more competent in this respect than even the English nation. But the most enthusiastic advocate of popular institutions is not prepared to go this length; and the reason may be found in the peculiarities which distinguish the eastern from west-

* See Sir Edward Creasy on the English Constitution, p. 385.

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ern nations. In the east generally the great mass of the people can read and write. Even the lower orders are taught to do so, to a greater extent than in European countries. Yet the ability to read and write alone does not elevate the native in the scale of civilization. The lower orders are addicted from their infancy to low cringing habits. They cannot act independently. They do not wish to oppose, by word or deed, those who occupy a higher position. They do not gainsay the opinions of those who are high in authority. Whether right or wrong, they submit to their will, and assent to their opinions. Such was the case with the middle-class intelligent Kandian who entered into a conversation with the Colonial Secretary on the taxes of 1848. When it was said that "Gumpàna could make no reply,"* it must be borne in mind that he did not lack the ability to speak upon a point in which he had the best of the argument. He was not gagged by the force and reasonableness of what fell from the learned knight. He simply considered it civility to hold his tongue, when an opinion contrary to his own was pressed on his attention by the mouth of authority, which he considered it his duty to respect. Such is the want of independence in the natives of this country.

Now, the framers of the Ordinance, with the object

* See Official Account of the Meeting at the Pavilion, Kandy, on the 8th July, 1848.

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of reducing the pretensions of the high-born, made it penal on those who framed the lists, to exclude any one in the district who "ought to be included." To meet the wishes of the lower orders who aspired to the distinction of sitting with high-caste men, they enacted that upon a written application "any person *whatsoever*" had a right to enter the list of jurors. The headmen therefore, upon whom ultimately fell the task of preparing these lists in order to save the penalty, put down every "Tom, Jack, and Harry, whom they found in the village." This was not all. The Government, to allay the feverish excitement amongst a few distinguished members of the higher orders, who composed the great bulk of the intelligent Sinhalese, created certain exemptions, so as to exclude them. Thus the Advocates and Proctors were exempt. The Korle Modliars, every one of whom was made a Deputy Coroner, were excluded. All ministers and clergymen; all physicians and apothecaries; all officers of Courts; and a variety of other persons, were privileged from serving on juries. Where they could not bring in others, such as an Atapattu Modliar or a Maha Modliar under any of the various exemptions, they issued dormant commissions to them as Coroners or Justices of the Peace, who were also exempt from serving on the jury. Even the few who possessed any intelligence amongst the Sinhalese, from their ability to read and write the English language, were placed on the *English* lists. Thus, the most intelligent

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and independent of the Sinhalese being excluded from the *Sinhalese* jury-list, from which the assessors were selected; and it being supposed a hardship on English Settlers, from their multifarious avocations, to be called upon day after day to serve as Assessors in the District Courts, this duty fell in point of fact upon the lower orders—the common refuse of native society. The Paduvàs, the Tom-tom beaters, the Palanquin bearers became the arbiters of the rights of the high class Sinhalese, the judges of the credit due to Wellàla witnesses, &c. &c. That these people could not, from their habits and feelings, discharge their duty properly, may be easily conceived. That they were not sufficiently independent in their conduct to express an opinion contrary to that of the presiding judge, has been clearly proved. That, therefore, they, like the Court of Chandâlas appointed by King Ilanâga to try a particular case,* could not perform their duty, is a positive fact. Hence the failure of the Assessor system in Ceylon.

To return from this digression. Ancient Buddhist Governments were so fully convinced of the necessity for the affairs of society being settled by those who were intimately acquainted with the litigants, their character and habits of life, that they appointed several bodies of men to review the law proceedings of the Criminal Magistrate. And here it is important to bear in mind that the liberty of the subject was so greatly esteemed

* Mahavansa, p. 216.

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by Buddhists that they considered it unjust to allow an appeal to the disappointed prosecutor, whilst to the convicted culprit they gave nearly six appeals. The mode in which this was done is so distinctly stated in the Buddhist books that I prefer to give a translation of the very language of the Pali annalist:—

'In aforetimes, the Vajjian princes, on a person being brought and presented 'as a thief,' surrendered him to the *Vinichchaya Mahamattá* without saying 'take this thief into custody.' They, upon investigation, released him if innocent; but, if he were found a thief, surrendered him to the *Vohàrikà* without doing any thing themselves. They (the Vohàrikà) too, upon investigation released him, if innocent; but, if otherwise, transfered him to those who were called *Suttadarà*. They likewise inquired into the matter and discharged him, if innocent; but if otherwise assigned him to the *Atthakùlakà*. They also having gone through the same process, surrendered him to the *Senàpati*, the Senàpati to the *Uparàjà*, and the Uparàjà to the King. The Sovereign inquiring into the matter discharged him, if innocent, but if otherwise caused the *Pavèni Potthakan*, or 'the book of Precedents' to be consulted. There it was *written*, such was the punishment to him, who had committed such a crime. The king upon comparing with it the conduct of the culprit, inflicted a suitable punishment.'*

* See Atthakà'ha to the Mahà Parinibbàn Suttan.

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Ancillary to the protection of the lives and properties of the subject, to award *punishment* to the guilty was an acknowledged duty of eastern kings. Manu lays down that "Punishment is an active ruler He is the true manager of public affairs. He is the dispenser of laws; and wise men call him the sponsor of all the four orders for the discharge of their several duties. Punishment governs all mankind; punishment alone preserves them; punishment wakes while their guards are asleep. The wise consider punishment as the perfection of justice." [Manu vii. 18, 19.] The Buddhists, too, regarding that "when princes awarded penalties for offences, they only acted as physicians who prescribed remedies for diseases of the body, exercised the power [of punishment] in order to restrain men from crime, and to prevent them from falling into hell."* Indeed, so far from punishment being dispensed with on religious grounds, the early kings of Ceylon did not hesitate to resort to 'the inflicting of *torture*,' a practice which had been carried on† in this island from 437 B. C. (when for the first time we read of a 'place of execution and torture')‡ down to 209 A. D., when Wohàratissa abolished it.§

* Inscription; see Ceylon Almanac for 1834, p. 188.

† It may, however, be doubted whether the total number of persons who suffered death by the hands of the executioner, during any one reign of a *Buddhist* king, had ever amounted to a *tithe* of the number (72,000) executed during the reign of Henry the Eighth. See *Macaulay's Essays*, p. 116.

‡ Mahavansa, p. 66.

§ Ib. p. 226.

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The reader need not moreover be reminded of the fact already mentioned,* that, according to Buddhist annals, the kingly office was created for the express purpose of awarding punishment to the guilty. Yet it would seem that Buddhism demanded the abstinence from the infliction of pain even as a punishment. In view of this difficulty many a Buddhist is said to have discarded "principalities and Powers." Temiya, is stated to have pretended to be "lame, deaf, and dumb" in order to prevent his being called to the throne.† The case of Srì Sanghabodhi has been already referred to.‡ But the policy of that prince's Government as well as that of another with regard to 'punishment' demands a few observations.

It is said of Kìrti Nissanga, a prince who ruled Ceylon in the twelfth century, that he considered "men became thieves from necessity, and that people robbed through the cravings of hunger; and therefore, when culprits were brought before him he dismissed them after giving them whatever riches they desired."§ And the monumental Inscription, from which the above passage has been extracted, adds "such was the security which he established, as well as in the wilderness, as in the inhabited places, that even a woman might traverse the country with a precious jewel, and not be asked—what is it."

* Vide ante p. xlv.
† Vide infra note to cap. v. § 10.
‡ Vide ante p. xxxi.
§ Ceylon Almanac.

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"There are certainly no collateral circumstances," as justly observed by Turnour, "connected with the history of that period, which justify the boundless pretentions to good government, advanced by Kìrti Nissanga in particular. The term of his reign is apparently too short, in the disordered state of the country at that epoch, to have realized his proud boast, similar to that of Alfred, '*that gold bracelets hung up near the highway should remain untouched,*' followed by precepts not unworthy of the memorable sentiments preserved in the same British Sovereign's will—'*that it was just the English should for ever remain as free as their own thoughts.*"

* * * *

"The manner," adds Turnour, "in which he (Kìrti Nissanga) is recorded to have put down robbery (by bribing the thieves,) is one of the most curious, and certainly most questionable, among his political measures."

It was clearly the result of a misapprehension of the causes which led to theft, and of an ignorance of man and his nature. If, as here stated, men robbed from want *alone*, to put an end to that want, was, doubtless, to put an end to the commission of the offence itself. But, how was this to be effected? Surely not by 'bribing' the thief—not by holding out rewards for crime—not by creating incentives for rendering the rich man poor; but, by placing the unoffending poor man above want. Thus, we find the policy of the great majority of Buddhist kings was from early times to

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afford relief to the poor, and to protect the weak from the attacks of the strong. With a view to give additional security to person and property, Buddhist Governments not only established 'Poor Houses, Asylums, and Hospitals for cripples, pregnant women, the blind, and the diseased,'* and not only provided the people at large with medical aid at the expense of the state;† but also, for municipal purposes, created "Public Cemeteries," "Scavengers," "Carriers of Corpses" and "Nightmen," (Police.)‡

To revert to the inscription:—

Although want is the chief prompter of turbuence, violence, and theft; yet it is by no means true that men become theives from necessity alone. The criminal Statistics of different countries prove this beyond all doubt. "Having investigated the general causes of depredation, vagrancy, and mendicancy," say the Constabulary Commissioners in their Report submitted to the English Government in 1839, p. 181, "as developed by examinations of the previous lives of criminals or vagrants in the goals, we find that scarcely in any cases is it ascribable to the pressure of unavoidable want or destitution, and that in the great mass of cases it arises from the temptation of obtain-

* Mahavansa, p. 248.

† Mahavansa, p. 245.

‡ *Ib.* p. 66.

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ing property with a less degree of labour than by regular industry."*

The case is indeed not different in this island; and it may certainly be affirmed that at the period indicated in the Mihintala Inscription, the Sinhalese knew not that extreme destitution which rendered theft necessary, and which by the laws of Holland excused the offender when the thing stolen consisted of the necessaries of life.†

It cannot be denied that poverty existed here then, as it exists now. But poverty is a relative term: and the difference between the poor here, and the poor in many parts of Europe, was and is—that, whilst there a great proportion of the poor classes are destitute paupers, the poorest man *here*, is never without the means of subsistence during the day, and without a place of rest at night.‡ In other words, there was scarcely any pauperism in Ceylon. The Attanagaluwansa states this as a fact;§ and no one who is intimately acquainted with the real Sinhalese of the present day,

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* Also see p. 63, of the same Report; and London Labour and London Poor, iii. p. 369.

† Si enim necessitate famis, non vero animo fraudulenter lucrandi, furtum factum sit, excusari certe potest, *c. si quis, et ibi scri. Extr. de furt.* si non sit insigne et magnum, juxta *l. i. ff. de furt.* Non enim factum quæritur, sed causa faciendi. *l. verum est*, ff. es. Et necessitas sane non habet legem. *Damhouder, Prax. Rer. Crim.* c. cxii. § 37.

‡ See Macaulay's Essays, p. 108.

§ See Cap. vi. § 5.

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can believe the existence of any real destitution amongst them.*

This is clearly the result of the tenure of lands, and the laws of succession in Ceylon; and this is also obviously, one of the causes of that "apathy and indifference," for which the inhabitants of cold regions reproach the denizens of the tropics. As regards *individuals*, the latter result is as much to be deplored, as the former is a matter for exultation. But, comparatively, the absence of pauperism is more to be desired, than that the want of industrious habits should be deprecated.

It is erroneously supposed by some that our kings were unmindful of their duty in this respect. To render a people industrious, was considered, as we gather from their acts, necessary not only for the protection of the subject, but also for the interests of the Crown. And no effort seems to have been spared by our ancient Sovereigns to promote industrious habits. True, no penalty was imposed upon indolence; no idle person was taken up as a vagabond; and no vagabond was punished. Nor, like the Lucani and the Athenians, did they punish the idle.† In their opinion example

* I have examined the list of pensioners of the *Colombo* Friend-in-Need Society, and have not been able to find, amongst the recipients of this Institution, the name of a single Sinhalese, who either had not deserted his parents at a very early age, or who had not in some way or other been connected with either Portuguese descendants, or the Mechanic classes of Ceylon.

† Grotius on War and Peace, p. 501.

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was better than precept; and, therefore, they did themselves what they wished their subjects should do. They devoted attention to the interests of science. They learned useful arts, such as painting and carving, and taught the same to their subjects. They caused gardens and fields to be cultivated. They even superintended in person the gathering of crops, and the reaping of corn. They did whatever was necessary for the interests of the community, and what that community could not effect without the intervention of their kings. It was thus that those stupendous and gigantic works for the purposes of irrigation came into existence at a very early period of the Sinhalese dynasty. They are indeed the proudest monuments of the industry of the Sinhalese of a by-gone day. They prove "the former greatness of the country, when the opulence which they engendered, enabled the kings to lavish untold wealth upon edifices of religion, to subsidise mercenary armies, and to fit out expeditions for foreign conquest."*

But, that which contributed most to elevate native industry was, as already remarked, the peculiar *tenure* of lands, by which the tenant lost his rights upon non-cultivation. The gradual extinction of this tenure, and the baneful influence of Dravidian Usurpers, contributed to divest the Sinhalese of their former

* Tennent's Ceylon, ii. p. 432.

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energy as a nation; whilst, individually, the want of national ambition, clearly the result of castes; and the existence of a law of succession by which every man became a landed proprietor, not a little restrained them from active work.

The equal distribution of property in Ceylon is indeed attended, as I have already pointed out, with this result,—that there is no real destitution in the land. A different state of things may tend to promote industrious habits to a certain extent; but it is very questionable whether in the absence of the winters and summers of Europe, and also of that inherent love of speculation which predominates in the European mind, the Sinhalese could ever be made an active "nation of shopkeepers."

I am indeed no advocate for the amendment of the existing law of succession in this country. Doubtless it has it disadvantages; but the great injury which a different state of things may inflict upon the people far surpasses the little good which it is likely to effect. Witness the Ordinance No. 21 of 1844. Under its provisions hundreds of people were ruined by the sale of entire lands for the debt of a paltry co-proprietor. Large sums of money realised many years ago by such sales are still in the Courts. The baneful effects of those execution-sales were such that the late Sir William Carr indignantly characterized the provisions of this enactment as mischievous, and tending to "ruin and

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injure the people." That enactment, happily, has been since repealed.

In the abstract, again, an equal distribution of property amongst a people not only diffuses a large amount of happiness throughout the land; but that happiness far exceeds the amount of misery experienced in countries where the law of primogeniture exists. A different state of things may tend to make a small section of the people immensely rich, whilst no amount of industry will enable the great mass of the poor to drive away pauperism from the land. The distress which has recently been experienced in Lancashire, and which far surpasses anything ever known in Ceylon, furnishes an instance of what I have here stated.

Where again property is equally distributed amongst a people, the existence in some of a feeling of superiority over others—which is the chief incentive to sinful temptations, and increased love of wealth,—may well be doubted. Where, therefore, all are equal, they have no reason to look upon what they possess as *riches*. Their possessions do not engross their affections. No feeling of proud aversion against being numbered amongst the poor, arises in their minds. They are, consequently, free from those obstacles which our Lord had in view when he declared it "easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the Kingdom of God." Disproportionate wealth

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does not, moreover, produce so much national happiness, as it tends to national glory. The latter simply elevates a people in the estimation of foreign nations, without bringing a corresponding amount of happiness to that poople, *as a people.* Such alas! is the case of European nations; and it is not without horror that we read of the pinching want, the squalid misery, and destitution, which prevail in various countries in the West.

From an examination into the principles of Kìrti Nissanga's rule, I return to that of Srì Sanghabodhi. The policy of his government was characterized by still greater weakness.

After he was crowned, he continued to evince, as he had done before, greater devotion to the interests of religion, than to the affairs of the state. This from

'A man on earth devoted to the skies,'

was scarcely unexpected He mixed not with the world, and could not therefore distinguish the *local* from the *natural* man. He was too much absorbed in religious affairs to enable him "to track the silent march of human affairs, and to seize with happy intuition on those great laws which regulate the prosperity of empires." His meditations did not permit him to reconcile principles to circumstances, or to devise measures in anticipation of the effects which state-affairs had upon 'the entangled relations and awkward complexity of real life.'

Buddhism, moreover, manifested an antagonism to

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good Government. The principles of the former conflicted with those of the latter. The exercise of those duties which a state policy demanded, threatened the destruction of all religious merit. The enthusiasm and rigid piety of so great an adherent of Buddha as Sanghabodhi, permitted not a departure from the duties prescribed by his religion,—even where the majesty of the law demanded the infliction of punishment. And the consequence was, as may be easily expected, that, having forgotten 'the highest virtue of a king, (which) is the protection of his subjects,'* the old existing Ordinances for the repression of crime, the promotion of the comforts of the poor, and the security of their person and property, became disregarded.

He considered it sinful to punish man with *death*. Indeed he was not the only person, both in ancient and modern times, who was opposed to capital punishment. More intelligent men of far more enlightened times, though on different grounds, have entertained the same opinion. From the Dhanli Inscription we learn that the great Asoka of India abolished Capital punishment throughout his extensive dominions, and that malefactors condemned to death, were reprieved, and obliged to make pious gifts, and

* Manu, vii. § 144.

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to fast frequently during their lives in order to gain happiness in this world, and to secure final bliss. But Sanghabodhi, like Kìrti Nissanga, erred greatly in discharging malefactors with munificent rewards.

"When the malefactors were brought to the prison of the capital," says the historian, "as the king's vows precluded the possibility of their being executed, they were secretly released at night after condemnation, and the corpses, furnished by the usual casualties of a populous city, were exhibited at the place of execution, on gibbets and impaling poles, as the victims of violated laws." Thus, says the historian, a pious king not only successfully repressed crime, but also gave the criminal time and opportunity to reform.

The contrary however was indeed the result. Crime increased in the same proportion that Sanghabodhi neglected to punish the offender. 'The whole frame of Society was disorganized.' The whole country became the scene of plunder, and a prey to lawless banditti that infested its environs, encouraged by the bountiful charities of the reigning prince. Nor was this all. A famine and a pestilence soon made their appearance; and to the sufferings of the people from these causes, the historian adds those arising from the ravages of a *Canibal*, whom, in the usual phraseology of oriental exaggeration, he describes as a monstrous "demon" of extraordinary appearance and magnitude.

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Such a state of things could not continue for any length of time. Gothàbhaya, impatient to become a king, and availing himself of the weakness of his friend, and the feebleness of his Government, plotted his destruction. He collected an army from amongst the *marauders* that pillaged the country, and prepared for war.

The employment of Marauders in war, which was anciently common in the east, presents a feature no less curious than the tolerance of courtesans in the ancient social institutions of Ceylon,* India,† and even Greece.‡ But the assistance of the former, it would seem, was only called into requisition, as in the times of Sanghabodhi, when the honest inhabitants of the country denounced an insurrection as improper and unjust. It must not, however, be supposed from the weak and insane policy of Sanghabodhi's Government, that our forefathers were averse to war as a political remedy. History clearly disproves such a supposition. When an injury to themselves or to the allies of their monarch§ called for that remedy, no nation were more ready than the Sinhalese of old to embark in a war.‖

* See Cap. iv. § 5.

† See introduction to Mahavansa, p xxxii.

‡ Professor Wilson's Hindu Theatre, vol. i. p. xliv.

§ Institutes of Manu, vii. § 164.

‖ 'He longed to engage in war,'—Inscrip. Ceylon Almanac for 1834 p. 189.

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Yet it was not 'cruel and savage war' in which our forefathers were engaged. They were not 'those horrible hell-hounds of savage war,' whom the great Chatham described, as 'torturing, murdering, roasting, and literally eating the mangled victims of their barbarous battles.' War with them was a "science," not a "*trade.*" Neither was 'everything' considered by them 'fair in war.' Guided by the rules laid down in "the blameless primeval law for military men,"* no man, engaged in combat amongst them, smote his foe with sharp instruments *concealed in wood.* No one used arrows *mischievously barbed.* No one *on horseback* struck his enemy *on the ground.* They avoided effeminate men. They slew not one who sued for life. They assailed not men whose sight was obstructed by their dishevelled hair. They passed by the man who sat down fatigued. They slew not him who surrendered himself as a captive. 'Calling to mind the duty of honorable men,' they struck not him who broke his weapon, or him who had been greviously wounded. Such are a few of the laws of war which guided them. Others bear a favorable comparison with those of the most civilized nations in the world. The stand, however, which the Sinhalese made from a very early period of their history, against the usurpations of continental invaders, is indeed a matter for just exultation. It was an

* Institute of Manu, vii. 89 et seq.

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unceasing struggle between them and the Indians. That struggle, as remarked by the Rev. Robert Spence Hardy, "was continued century after century; and if the warriors of Lankà had had an adequate historian to record their deeds, there are many places amidst its rice-clad hills that would have been magic names, vying in interest with Marathon or Thermopylæ."*

To return to the times of Sanghabodhi :—

The commotion of an insurrection soon reached his ears; and he instantly left the city in disguise, abdicating the throne in favor of him who had been instrumental in placing him on it. But Gothàbhaya was disliked by the people. Suspecting therefore the stability of his power so long as the people's favorite was suffered to remain in the country, he offered a reward for Sanghabodhi's head. At this time the latter was enjoying the solitude of an hermitage in Attanagalla in the Cina Korle of the Western-Province, with the contemplation of exercising those religious duties, especially the *Dhàna pàramità* (which includes the sacrifice of life,) in expectation of attaining to a Buddhaship.

Mr. Turnour, who was probably indebted to the Ràjavaliya for the matter in the following passage, (see Ceylon Almanac for 1834, p. 175) says, "Many heads, obtained by murder and assassination, had been

* Eastern Moracbism ; p. 326.

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produced before the usurper (Gothàbhaya,) by persons who successively forfeited their own heads for the imposition they had attempted to practise. Siri Sangabo hearing of these enormities, resolved to put an end to them by sacrificing his own life. In this frame of mind he met with a peasant who had fled from his home, horrified at the suggestion of his wife, of destroying the king. He revealed his distress to his disguised sovereign. In order that the reward might be secured to this man, the king avowed himself, and with his own hand severed his head from his body." But the Attanagaluvansa omits the matters stated in the early part of this extract, and contradicts those given in its conclusion, especially as to the visit of the peasant to have originated by the suggestion of his wife; and as to the pre-knowledge of Sanghabodhi regarding the high reward which had been set on his head, etc. All that the Attanagaluvansa authorizes us to state is, that the king accidentally met a poor peasant travelling by his hermitage; and, whilst partaking with him his meal, heard the proceedings of his so-called friend. Heartily glad at the opportunity thus presented of carrying his designs into effect, viz. of propitiating his own life, the destruction of which he prohibited in others; he requested the peasant to accept his head. The latter indignantly protested against being considered an assassin, or one capable of murder, and declined the offer. But, he was soon prevailed upon;

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and the result was, that the king himself severed his head from his body, and presented it to the traveller. On its being taken before Gothàbhaya it sprang up (as predicted by Sanghabodhi) into the air, and proclaimed to the suspecting king, that 'it *was* the identical head of king Sanghabodhi.'

The history then proceeds to narrate the events connected with the death of Sanghabodhi's queen in the same forest in which the king's corpse was found; and the cremation of the Royal couple with that pomp and grandeur, to which their high station entitled them. Then follows a narrative of the erection of monumental and religious edifices by Gothàbhaya, upon the spot where *Sanghabodhi* had perished; and the history concludes with the highly munificent attentions which they had received from successive Sovereigns by way of maintaining the TEMPLE OF ATTANAGALLA, from whence the appellation of this little history is derived.

The reader is doubtless aware of the locality indicated by the name of *Attanagalla*. It is a village in the Cina Korle in the Western Province, and its delightful scenery, as it presents itself in passing from the Maritime Province into the Kandyan country is but imperfectly described in the record before us. 'There,' says Forbes,* 'the Imbul and Muruta trees,

* Eleven Years in Ceylon, vol. i. p. 88.

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covered with scarlet and pink flowers, or the blaze of white blossoms on the Nàgaha trees, form a beautiful variety to the heavy green of continuous forests; and cocoa-nut trees are only seen in plume-like tufts near villages, of which they are the valuable ornament and certain index.'

Attanagalla is now celebrated as not only the spot at which Sanghabodhi died, but as the seat of "miracle and mystery." I have already alluded to the fact that this prince before sacrificing his life partook of a peasant's food. This is stated to have been some boiled (*Má-vì*) rice, and a pottage of dry fish. Whilst eating, says a tradition, the prince in order to test the efficacy of his merits, threw a handful of rice and fish into a rocky pool, lying adjacent to the rock on which he was decapitated, and expressed a hope to see a miracle: when lo! the boiled rice sprang up trees laden with corn, and the pottage assumed the form of fishes sporting in the water. It is also asserted that the corn and fish never cease to exist in this particular pool, and that the very rock upon which the prince died has indications of the blood he shed.*

Before dismissing the historical and political reflections to which the Attanagaluvansa leads, a few observations may not be out of place here, as to what may seem to be an error in the Mahavansa as regards the period of reign ascribed to Sanghabodhi.

* See Young Ceylon, vol. i, p. 182.

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It will be observed that in the Attanagalu-vansa no dates are given either as to the number of years which Sanghabodhi reigned, or the year on which he ascended the throne. According to the Mahavansa he was crowned in A. D. 246, and he reigned only two years. The Dìpàvansa bears out Mahanàma, in the following stanza—

Sanghabodhì ti nàmena ràjà àsì su-sìlavà
Dve vassàneva sò ràjà rajjan kàresi khattiyo.

That is to say: 'There was a highly religious king named *Sanghabodhi:* the same, who was a Khattiya, reigned only two years.' There is nothing, therefore, in the Attanagalu-vansa to induce us to doubt the correctness of Mahanàma's figures. On the contrary, there is much in it which confirms the facts given in the Mahavansa. Yet, it would seem from one of the Mihintala Inscriptions, which we have noticed elsewhere,* that the reign of *Sanghabodhi* had extended to more than sixteen years.

The Attanagalu-vansa states that Sanghabodhi built a large hall in the Ruanweli establishment; that he daily entertained in it a great number of the priesthood; that he also built a temple which he named after himself; and that he dedicated it, together with many lands, to his uncle and preceptor, *Nanda*, and the priests in his establishment. The Mahavansa also records the build-

* Vide ante, p. xiii.

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ing by king Sanghabodhi of a *Saláka** hall at the Mahavihàra. (p. 229.) This is further supported by the Dipàvansa, where the historian states, that—

Ramme megha vanuyyàne dhuvayàgun arindamo
Patthapesi salàkaggan mahà vihàra muttame.—

'This valiant personage ordained the continual distribution of rice-gruel in the delightful park of Meghavanna,† and built a *Salàka*-hall at the Mahavihàra.' It may be believed that this was the Temple, the erection of which was commemorated in the inscription in question, 'sixteen years after the accession of Siri Sangabo.' An omission occasioned by the disturbances and calamities which lasted during a short reign of two years, was, probably, thus supplied by the zeal of Sanghabodhi's adherents. It is also probable that they simply copied on the rock that which they found on a plate of metal, on which the royal Grant had been made. In doing so, however, it may be supposed, they inscribed the *actual* date at which they put up the inscription, viz. "the tenth day of the sixteenth year *after* the accession of Siri Sangabo."

Mr. Turnour in his introduction to the Inscriptions published in the Ceylon Almanac for 1834, p. 175,

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* See Attanagalu-vansa, Cap. v. § 1. note 2.

† This is the spot at Anuràdhapura which was sanctified by Gotama's presence in his third visit to Lanka; and where an establishment by the same name (Meghavanna) was subsequently found. See Mahavansa, p. 7.

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thus explains away the discrepancy. "Goluabba,* though he performed many acts of ostentatious piety, failed in his efforts to conciliate the Church, in which unhappily for him a furious schism raged at that period. He continued consequently to be so unpopular with the priesthood that his son Makalan Detootissa,† who attempted to pacify the schism (the record of which pacification is contained in this Inscription,) omits his name entirely, and dates the record in question from the 10th day of the 16th year after the accession of Siri Sangabo. *For the purpose of defining his relationship to the Royal family, he is compelled, in consequence of this omission of his father's name, to record that of his younger brother and successor Mahasen.* This pacification, however, only endured while Detootissa was Sovereign. The devastations committed by the revival of the Wytooleya (Waitulya) heresy are recorded in ample detail in the reign of his successor. Without this explanation, the Mihintala Inscriptions might justly be considered rather to impugn than to corroborate the correctness of the dates and facts given in the Epitome. The inference drawn from this Inscription would naturally have been, that Siri Sangabo's reign extended to at least sixteen years, and that

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* *Goluabba*, the Sinhalese form of Gothabhaya, and Siri Sangabo that of Srì Sanghabodhi.

† The proper spelling of this name would be *Duttha Tissa*, which means, 'the wicked Tissa."

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Detootissa and his younger brother Mahasen were contemporary rulers of separate portions, or of subordinate principalities, of Ceylon; whereas Siri Sangabo was dethroned two years only after his accession, in A. D. 248, by Goluabba, who was succeeded, after a reign of thirteen years, by his son Detootissa. Consequently, "the sixteenth year after the accession of Siri Sangabo was A.D. 262, the second year of Detootissa's reign, and the fourteenth after the expulsion of Siri Sangabo from the throne. Mahasen was a prince who in early youth gave promise of the great reputation he subsequently acquired, and had already in his brother's reign assumed a position of prominence in the eyes of the nation, which readily accounts for Detootissa's reference to his name, when state policy precluded the record of that of his father."

This conjecture is, however, founded upon a mistake in Mr. Armour's translation of *Inscriptions* in the Ceylon Almanac for 1834, p. 178. On reference to the original, I find that allusion is there made to Sanghabodhi's *brother* as the originator of certain rules in respect of the Segiri temple; but his name does not occur there. How Mr. Armour came to render the passage in question by describing Siri Sangabo as "the brother of the eminent *Mahasen*," may be easily explained. Just before the words 'his brother,' are to be found the expression *mahasenvàkarayi*, which is not a noun but a verb. It means having '*gathered together*,'

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referring to what precedes in the original, or what follows in my translation—'*the clergy of both the Temples Segiri and Abayagiri.*' Mr. Armour, from his intimate acquaintance with Turnour's chronological Tables, wherein the name *Mahasen* occurs very soon after Siri Sangabo, thus mistook the *verb*—which by the way is an abstruse and obsolete expression at the present day—for a proper name.

The brother of Sanghabodhi, to whom reference is here made, was in all probability *Gothàbhaya*. The Mahavansa (p. 228,) does not state that he bore that affinity; but it does say that they were 'intimately connected together,' which may mean that they were *cousins*, a relationship expressed in the Sinhalese by the same word which is used for *brother*. It should also be borne in mind, that *Gothàbhaya* is also called *Meghavanna* (see Mahavansa, p. 232,)—an epithet by which Sanghabodhi's father is distinguished in the Inscription in question. The allusion too, in it, to certain 'rules prescribed by his brother,' was doubtless to *Gothàbhaya;* for it is but reasonable to suppose that a prince like Gothàbhaya, who had founded so many religious establishments, and maintained them with the regularity detailed in the Mahavansa and Dipàvansa, had also enacted proper rules for their government.

Next to the historical and political considerations which are suggested by the Attanagaluvansa, the

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Religion which it presents to the reader is one of its most engaging phases; indeed in that in which its greatest superiority is boasted of, and maintained by its adherents, viz. its moral code, it demands a few introductory remarks.

This is a subject of great and peculiar interest. It is invested with interest not only because Gotama effected a change of Brahman institutions on Brahman soil,—not only on account of the tendency which his doctrines had to upset the social polity of all eastern nations, the system of Caste,—but also for the wonderful results which Buddhism has effected in the greater part of Asia. Perhaps there is not,—certainly there *was* not, in the whole world, a religion of human invention, which deserved greater examination than Buddhism. It began at the very dawn of history. Its history commenced with the very commencement of what may be called *Chronology*. Its era divided the history of the East into two parts, just as the Christian era served to divide the history of the world.* Nor is this all the interest which attaches to the subject. Buddhism has spread more than any other religion. It is the religion, which, having been banished from its native land so entirely as to be now almost unknown there, has, at the present day,—upwards of 2450 years since its first promulgation,—a larger number of follow-

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* Prof. Max. Muller's Sanskrit Lit. p. 35.

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ers than any other religion on the face of the whole earth, and amounting to nearly one-third of the human race.* It is also a remarkable fact, as stated by the Rev. R. S. Hardy, that "there is no country in either Europe or Asia, besides those that are Buddhist, in which the same religion is now professed that was there extant at the time of the Redeemer's death."†

There is a still higher interest connected with the subject, when we regard Buddhism as the religion which has broken the fetters in which Brahmanism was bound; which has humanized a great portion of mankind in the East; and which has established its civilizing influence in the greater part of Asia, and in our own island. This last was the result of the mildness of the doctrines which Buddhism inculcates; and it will be noticed that they prescribe a code of morality, superior to every system with which we are acquainted, except that of Christianity.

It may be here considered in two different points of view:—*first*, as to its origin; and *secondly*, as to its doctrines.

More than five centuries before the manifestation of our Saviour in this world, in an 'age remarkable for the first diffusion and potent influence of distinct religious brotherhood, mystic rites, and expiatory

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* Sir Em. Tennent's Christianity, p. 199. Also M. Troyer's Rájatarangini, 399; Hardy's East. Mon. p. v.

† Hardy's East. Mon. 327.

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ceremonies* in the West; when the doctrine of 'an infinity of worlds' was taught by Anaximander and Xenophanes; — when Brahmanism had been 'reduced from the worship of nature to theism, and had declined into scepticism with the learned, and men-worship with the vulgar,'† and was, through the neglect of its professors, fast dwindling into decay;‡ and, at a time too, when the Hindus were marked by the barbarity of human sacrifice; various persons in Asia founded religious associations, proclaiming different doctrines for the salvation of man. Some were *Digambaras;* and the morality of the times suffered them to go about naked. Others were *Svetambaras,* or those who put on 'white garments.' Some were fire-worshippers, and others adorers of the sun. Some belonged to the *Sanyàsi,* and others to the *Panchatàpa* sects.§

Some worshipped *Padarânga;* some *Jivaka;* and others *Nigantha.*‖ The *Jainas,* who followed the *Lokàyata,* or the system of atheistical philosophy taught by Châryâka, also appear to have flourished

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* Grote's Greece, iii. p. 114.

† Elphinstone's Hist. of India, vol. i. b. 2. c. iv.

‡ Buddhavansa.

§ A sect which practised certain austerities surrounded by four fires, whilst the sun was shining, which they regarded as a fifth fire. See Manu, vi. § 23.

‖ See Buddhist Annals in the Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal for September, 1837.

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at this time.* In addition to these Gotama himself enumerates sixty two sects of religious Philosophers, of whom the following is a brief account.

They are divided into two grand fraternities *Pubbanta Kappikà,* those who reason from past experience; and *Aparanta Kappikà* those who reason concerning the future. The first is subdivided into eighteen classes, and the second into forty four.

(i.) *Sassata Vàdà,* or those whose doctrines declare the eternity of matter and spirit. That is, that there is no new substantial existence; that the soul and the world are eternal, and remain unchangeable like a mountain peak; and that life passes away, transmigrates, dies, is born again; but remains for ever identically the same.

1. Those who by profound meditation have attained that state of mental tranquility by which they are enabled to trace back the events of many hundred thousand births.

2. Those whose perception extends back to ten *kalpas.*

3. Those who remember the events of previous births from ten to forty kalpas; and

4. Those from a course of reasoning arrive at the same conclusion of the eternal existence of things.

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* Asvaláyana Suttan on the Majjhena Nikàya, see my Kachchàyana's Grammar, Introduction p. lxxi.

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5, 6, 7 and 8. *Ekachcha Sassatikà* and *Ekachcha Assatikà* consist of four classes who regard, that some beings are unchangeable and eternal, and others mutable and derived. Three of these classes hold this doctrine from the experience of previous births during different periods of time; and the fourth by a process of reasoning.

9, 10, 11, and 12. *Antànantikà* also consist of four classes who hold philosophical doctrines on the material world. That is to say. 1. That it is finite and bound on all sides. 2. That it is infinite and boundless. 3. That it is finite above and below, but infinite in the lateral expanse. 4. That it is neither finite nor infinite. The last are said to be reasoners who arrive at this conclusion from a process of reasoning.

13. 14, 15, and 16. *Amarà vikkhìpikà* also consist of four classes. Those who evade a question not being able to discriminate between virtue and vice; those who likewise evade from a fear of evil consequences; those who equivocate from a fear of shame; and those who follow the same course through sheer folly.

17, and 18. *Adhichcha Samuppanniká*, consist of two classes; viz. those, from their having previously existed in an unconscious world, deny a previous state of existence, and hold that neither the world nor themselves had a cause; and those who hold the like doctrines by a process of reasoning.

(ii.) Those who reason concerning the future are

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forty four in number; and consist of five classes. The *First*, called *Udhamághatanikà saññá vádá*, are those who discourse on a future state of conscious existence. They are, who hold

1. That the soul is material; 2. that it is immaterial; 3. that it is partly material and partly immaterial or spiritual; 4. that it is neitheir material nor yet immaterial; 5. that it is finite; 6. that like the atmosphere, it is infinite; 7. that it is both finite and infinite; 8. that it is neither finite nor infinite; 9. that it has but one mode of consciousness; 10. that its perceptions are many; 11. that they are few; 12. that they are unlimited and bonndless; 13. that the future will be a state of unalloyed happiness; 14. that it will be a state of unmixed misery; 15. that it will be a state in which happiness will be mixed with misery; and 16. that it will be a state of indifference to happiness or misery. Thus do some 'Brahmans and Samanas hold the drctrine of future existence, and teach in sixteen different ways the conscious existence of the soul after death'

Second. Uddhamághatanikà assaññà vàdà are those who hold a future state of *unconscious* existence. They are who hold,

1. That the soul is material; 2. that it is immaterial; 3. that it is both material and immaterial; 4. that it is neither material, nor yet immaterial; 5. that it is finite; 6. that it is infinite; 7. that it partakes both of

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finity and infinity; and 8. that it is neither finite nor infinite. Thus do some 'Brahmans and Samanas hold the doctrine of future existence; and teach in eight different ways the unconscious existence of the soul after death.'

Third. *Uddhamàghatanikà neva Saññna nà saññá vàdà* are those, who hold in eight different modes as in the preceding classes, a future existence in a state between consciousness and unconsciousness.

Fourth. *Uchchheda vàdá* who hold the doctrine, that death annihilates existence in the following seven modes.

1. That the soul is material, that it is formed of four elements through the agency of parents, and that it is annihilated at once upon death.

2. That the soul takes its flight into a heavenly world, where, assuming a god-like form, it enjoys all sensual pleasures; and that upon the dissolation of that body, and not before, is the soul annihilated.

3. That after this life the soul takes a godlike form, and enjoys pleasure mentally before it is annihilated.

4. That upon death and before annihilation the soul acquires an aerial existence devoid of bodily form of perturbation, and of multifarious perceptions.

5. That before annihilation the soul obtains an intellectual existence of unbounded consciousness far beyond the aerial world.

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6. That before annihilation the soul has an existence in the region of unoccupied space far beyond an intellectual region, and where there is nothing to disturb the profound tranquility of the soul; and

7. That, in like manner, the soul before annihilation receives an existence which is neither conscious not yet unconscious. 'Thus do some teach the excision, the destruction, the annihilation of the *living being,*' which we have here designated the soul.

Fifth. Dittha dhamma nibbána vádá, are those who hold five different modes by which cessation from sorrow or perfect happiness is obtained by living beings, viz.

1. Where the soul has a full and complete enjoyment of the senses.

2. Where free from sensuality and crime it enters the first *jhána* or stage of abstract meditation.

3. Where, unmixed with inquiry or investigation, it enters the second *jhána.*

4. Where it enters the third stage of abstract meditation which is designated by *Rahats* as a state of perfect indifference.

5. Where it enters the fourth *jhána,* a state of perfect purity, free from the sensation of ease or pain.*

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* The above account has been framed from the *Brahmajála Suttan*; and the valuable assistance which I have received from the Rev. Mr. Gogerly's translations in C. B., A. S. J. vol. ii., and the Ceylon Friend, vol. ii. cannot be sufficiently overrated.

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Such is a brief and connected account of the two and sixty sects of religious philosophers described by Gotama. My prescribed limits do not permit me to dwell upon the different doctrines of other sects. Suffice it to say that about the sixth century before the Christian era, all shades of opinion and practices were tolerated.

But few of these sects believed on a 'first cause,' and none acknowledged a supreme Almighty God;—therefore they differed in this respect from the Brahmans, who attributed every thing to the creative hand of Brahmâ or Ishvara. One important point of agreement, however, between these Sectarians and the Vedic Brahmans was, that none dared to violate the institution of Castes, which all Brahmans regarded as *sacred*. Yet amongst them there were six arch Heretics, who regarded not the distinctions which divided men into Brahmans, Kshestriyas, Vaisyas and Sudras; and for the simplest of all reasons, that they were themselves of mean extraction.

They preached to the people. They set forth their doctrines. They first resorted to the most legitimate means of conversion, viz. argument and discussion. But these, often were of themselves insufficient, and availed little. Something else was required; and that was supernatural powers in those who passed for religious teachers. Well-versed however in deceit, they found no difficulty in invention, and in exhibiting supernatural powers. In proof of inspiration, to which

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they laid claims, they declared doctrines unintelligible to the vulgar, and above the comprehension of the common orders of society. As possessing the power of *iddhi* they, like the teacher of Rasselas, often ascended an eminence to fly in the air. But, unlike the Abyssinian teacher, who leaped into the water, upon the strength of his wings which sustained him in the water, the Tîrtakas resorted to other frauds, which they easily practised upon a deluded population. Thus they soon became established as *Arahantas*, at the head of distinct fraternities, having numerous congregations, consisting of thousands of poor deluded human beings.*

An account of them may not prove uninteresting, and the following compiled from several writers, especially from the *Saddharmalankàra*, is a brief outline

History of the six Tirtakas.

1. One was a half-caste. He was born in a nobleman's house, of a girl that was a foreigner. He pretended to be a Brahman; and assumed the name of the "twice born." He called himself *Kâsyapa*, and received the additional appellation of *Pùrna*, because his birth served to "complete" the number of one hundred slaves in his master's household. For the same reason he became a favorite of his lord, and enjoyed many privileges which his fellow-servants

* Their existence is mentioned in the Milindappraśna.

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were denied. These acts of kindness, however, had a tendency to make him indolent and lazy; and the consequence was that his master soon put him to work and appointed him his porter. This situation deprived him of the unlimited liberty which he had previously enjoyed; and he therefore quitted the service of his master. In the helpless state in which he roamed about the country after his desertion, he was set upon by thieves, who stripped him of every thing he had, including the very clothes on his person. Having however, escaped death he repaired, in a state of perfect nudity, to the neighbouring villages, where poverty led him to practise many deceptions on the credulous, until at last he established himself as an Ascetic, proclaiming his name to be *Pùrna Kâsyapa Buddha. Pùrna,* 'because (he said) he was full of all arts and sciences;' *Kâsyapa,* 'because he was a Brahman by birth;' and *Buddha* 'because he had overcome all desires, and was an Arahat.' People offered him clothes in abundance, but he declined accepting them, thinking that as a *Digambara* he would be better respected. 'Clothes' said he, 'are for the concealment ot shame; *shame* is the result of sin; and *sin* I have not,—since I am a person of sanctity (a'rahat) who is free from evil desires.' In the then state of society, distracted by religious differences, he gained followers, and they soon exceeded eighty thousand!

"His heresy consisted," says Col. Sykes on the

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authority of the Chinese Buddhistical Annals,* "in annihilating all laws. He admitted neither prince nor subject, neither father nor son; neither rectitude of heart nor filial piety, and he had some mystification about *void, vacuum, or ether* being paramount."

2. *Makkhaligosàla* was another sectarian Teacher. He had been a slave in a nobleman's house, and was called *Makkhalì* after his mother; and by reason of his having been born in a *gosála* or 'cow-house,' he received the additional appellation—*gosála*. One day he followed his master with a large pot of oil; and the latter perceiving his servant was on slippery, muddy ground, desired him to be on his guard. But he, not listening to his advice, walked carelessly, and the result was that he stumbled over a stump, and fell down with his heavy load, breaking the pot of oil. Fearing that his master would punish him for his misconduct, Gosàla was running away. His master soon pursued him, and seized him by his garments; but these giving way, Gosàla effected his escape, naked. In this state he entered a city and passed for a *Digambara* Jaina, or Buddha; and founded the sect which was named after him. "He falsely believed," says Col. Sykes, in the same Essay from which I have quoted above, "that the good and evil of mankind did not result from previous actions,

* See his Essay on the Religious, Moral and Political state of India before the Mahomedan Invasion; in the Royal A. S. J. vol. vi. p. 266.

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but were accidental. His doctrine therefore, was that of chance."

3. *Nigantha nàtha putta* was the founder of a third sect. He was the 'son' (putta) of *Nàtha*, a husbandman; and because he boasted of an acquaintance with the entire circle of the arts and sciences, and moreover pretended to have destroyed the *ghanta*, the 'cores' or 'knots' of *kiles*, he was called *Nigantha* or *Nirgantha*.* He too laid claim to the high sanctity of an *Arahanta*, and preached doctrines which were embraced by thousands. He held that it was sinful to drink cold water. 'Cold water,' he said, 'was imbued with a soul. Little drops of water were small souls, and large drops were large souls.' So kira 'ekindriya pànan duvidandriya pànan' ti paññapeti; sukkha dan*d*aka puràna panna sakkhara ka*th*alànipi pànenava paññapeti. Tattha Khuddaka udaka bindun khuddako pàno mahantan mahantoti saññihoti, *i. e.* He (Nigan*th*anàthaputta) authoritatively speaks of life of one indriya or sense, and life of two senses, etc. He likewise speaks of dry-wood, old leaves, potsherd, and gravel as being also (invested with) life. Thence he is one who believes that small drops of water are little lives, and large drops, large lives.† He also declared that there were three *dandas*, or agents for the commission of sin, and that the acts of the

* Also a name of contempt for a heterodox Ecclesiastic.

† Papanchasudaníya, ii. p. 288.

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body (kàya,) of the speech (vàk,) and of the mind (mana,) were three separate causes each acting independently of the other. 'His heresy (according to Col. Sykes) consisted in maintaining that sins and virtues, and good and evil equally resulted from destiny; and that the practice of the doctrines could not save any one from his fate."

4. A fourth had been the servant of a noble family. Having run into debt, he fled from his creditors; and having no means of livelihood at the village to which he repaired, he became a practiser of austerities, after shaving his head, and putting on a 'mean garment made of hair;' from which circumstance he received the appellation of *Ajìta kesakambala.* Amongst other doctrines which distinguished him from the rest of the sectarians, was that which invested the three* kingdoms of nature with a soul. He held that man and beast, and every creeping thing, the fowl of the air, as well as all trees and shrubs, had a *jìvà*, or intelligent and sentient soul, endowed with body, and consequently composed of parts. 'The person' said he, 'who took away the life of a being, was equally guilty with the man who ate the flesh of his dead body. One who cut down a tree, or destroyed a creeper, was as guilty as a murderer.

* According to Buddhist works nature may be divided into four kingdoms instead of three. The additional one being 'mankind' distinguished from all other animals.

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And he who broke a branch was to be regarded as one who deprived another of his limbs.' These doctrines procured for him many followers, and they soon exceeded five thousand! Col. Sykes says upon the authority already referred to, that this sectarian teacher "maintained that destiny could be forced, namely, that happiness could be obtained which did not result from a previous existence. The practice of this doctrine consisted in wearing coarse garments, tearing out the hair, exposing the nostrils to smoke, and the various parts of the body to fire; in short, subjecting the body to every kind of cruel penance on the conviction that sufferings on earth would ensure happiness after."

5. *Sanjayabellante,* who had a head of an awkward shape, was also a slave by birth. Obtaining his freedom from his master, he applied himself to study; and when he had become a great proficient in various branches of learning, he proclaimed himself a *Buddha.* He taught, as a distinguishing feature in his doctrines, that man in an after-birth would be as he is now. 'In the transmigrations of the soul,' he said, 'it assumed the identical bodily form which it had possessed before death. There could be no change of person. Whosoever is now great or mean; a man or a *deva,* a biped, a quadruped or a milleped; without feet or hands; or with deficient members of the body; will be exactly the same in the next birth.'

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According to the Chinese books, from which Colonel Sykes has quoted, the heresy of this person "consisted in believing that it was not necessary to search for the doctrine in the sacred books, but that it would come spontaneously when the ages of births and deaths had been passed through. He also believed that after 80,000 kalpas the doctrine was obtained without effort."

6. *Kakudha Kátyáyana* was a foundling—the offspring of an illicit intercourse. His mother, who was a poor low-caste person, had no house to live in, and gave birth to him under a *Kakudha* (Pentaptera Arjuna. Rox.) tree; where she left him. A Brahman who picked him up from thence adopted him as his son; and named him *Kátyáyana*, with the prefix of *Kakudha*, because he was found under a tree of that name. On the death, however, of his adopted father, Kàtyàyana found himself in difficult circumstances, and resorted to different means and ways of procuring a livelihood—all of which failing, he became an ascetic, and established himself on a large mound of earth, where he preached his austerities, as a teacher of high sanctity. Like Nigan*th*a-nàtha-putta, Kàtyàyana also declared, that cold water was imbued with a soul. His heresy, according to the Chinese legends, consisted in asserting that some of the laws were appreciable by the senses, and some not.

Whilst such doctrines gained an immense number

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of followers; whilst the whole world was resounding with the noise of the philosophy of the Gymnosophists; whilst society was greatly divided by the dissensions of religionists;—when many causes predisposed the public mind to a change; when, "through the indolence of the Brahmans, the Vedas and their accompaniments had been neglected;"* and when many people walked about in the world saying '*I am Buddha, I am Buddha,* thus assuming the name of the great;'†—the son of a powerful monarch who reigned at Kapilavatthu, on the borders of Nepal, started as a *Buddha,* announcing himself as 'the *true* Jaina,' the teacher of the three worlds'—'wiser than the wisest,' and 'higher than the highest'; and proclaiming the doctrine of VIRTUE, which soon won its way to the hearts of a people 'whose inclinations had already been imbued with admiration of this quality in their own system.'

His history may be here briefly noticed. As already stated, he was a Prince. That he received an education more than suited to his princely rank, appears clearly enough from the subtle and abstruse doctrines of his Philosophy. From his discourses,‡ which relate to the *Vedas* and *Vedànga,* he was doubtless well versed in Brahmanical lore. The "sixty-four alphabets"

* Buddhavansa, Bl, A. S. J. vii, 809.

† Imasmin loke ahan Buddho ahan Buddho ti uggatassa nâman gahetvâ bahujanâ vicharanti.—*Comment. to the Majjhima Nikâya.*

‡ See Ambatta Suttan, &c.

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which he mastered, according to the *Lalita Vistàra*, (a book of no authority,) may be more imaginary than real. Yet, that he learnt most of the arts and sciences usually cultivated amongst the Indians may be believed. The Buddhavansa refers to his other accomplishments, and, in the usual phraseology of oriental exaggeration, he is said to have excelled a Sampson in strength. Many of his feats in archery are detailed "in proof of his accomplishments in martial deeds." They were exhibited to prove his right to the hands of "the daughters of the proud Sàkya tribes."*

The period that he passed as a *laic* was indeed short. Yet in that short period of twenty nine years, he had enjoyed life to his heart's content. Revelling in the luxuries of the state, surrounded by a host of damsels, and attended by his bands of female musicians, he dwelt in the three 'palaces adapted for three seasons.' The *Rammà* of nine stories he occupied during one; the *Surammà* of seven at another; and the *Subhà* of five, at a third.†

A mind, however, constitued such as Siddhattha's was, soon became satiated. The sharp edge of enjoyment had been speedily blunted. The zest of carnal pleasures had gradually subsided. He had not long

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* Buddalıavansa.

† Ibid.

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been a father before he became disgusted with life. The form of a decrepit old man, bent with age and emaciated by disease, informed him of his own future condition. The lifeless body of one who had previously moved like himself, reminded him of the uncertainty of life, and of his own approaching dissolution. When he was pondering on these things, and the Brahmanical golden rule—that "religious austerity was the summit of excellence,"* and the figure of an ascetic had arrested his gaze,—his mind was at once made up to renounce the world, its vanities, and its troubles. He preferred seclusion to the ceaseless pleasures of society; and the yellow garment of a mendicant to the purple robes of state. In his estimation 'Heaven was superior to a Universal Empire, and the results of *Sotapatti*† to the dignities of the universe.'‡

Whilst, therefore, 'his female bands were playing airs on musical instruments'—whilst 'the beauties of the Sâkya tribes were yet hymning forth the canticles of triumph and gratulation'—amidst all the enjoyments of life, and the oriental sports of the Park:—when too the national festivities of the city were in the thick; and when his beloved wife had been just

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* Dhammapada—Buddha-Vagga.

† The 'stream' into which the recluse enters before attaining nibban. It is the first stage of sanctification.

‡ Dhammapada,—*end of Loka Vagga.*

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delivered of a son*—*Siddhârtha*† departed ! He fled as from a pursuing enemy. He left his country, and embraced ascetism. After six years of seclusion, during which he learnt from Alarakàlamo and Uddakkaramo, the great art of training his mind by constant and well-directed meditation for high mental attainments, he became *Buddhá*; and established his religion, which is called his *Dhamma*, or, as we commonly name it, *Buddhism*.

Whilst other Teachers declared 'religious austerity to be the height of excellence,' Buddha taught it to consist in "Nibban." Upon this, and his favorite doctrine of atheism, by which he ignored an intelligent Creator, he propounded a religion that was distinguishable from Brahmanism. He set aside animal sacrifices. He held that no penance effaced sin. In his opinion the worship of the Gods and Manes availed nothing. With the exception of these and a few other matters, however, the Philosophy which Gotama taught was

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* Buddhavansa.

† This was his name as a prince. He is called *Sakka* being of the *Sákya* fraternity. For the origin of this term 'self-powerful,' see Turnour's Mahavansa p. xxxv. et. seq. ;—*Suddhodani* [patronimic] the son of *Suddhodana*; *Gotama* was the family name of the Sage who was instrumental in selecting the capital inhabited by the Sàkya fraternity. *Sakkasiha*, 'the chief of the Sàkyas ;' *Sakkamuni*, 'the reverend Ascetic amongst the Sàkyas ;' and *Aadichchabandhu*, 'the relation of the sun,' from his being of the *Suryavansa*, or the Solar Race. For the other epithets used towards him as Buddha, *vide infra*.

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not altogether new. It agreed in many important matters with that of the Brahmans. 'The cardinal points on which these two systems essentially differed (as remarked by the Rev. P. Bigandat,) were the *beginning* and the *end* of living beings. Between these two extremes, there is a multitude of points over which both systems so perfectly agree that they appear blended together.' The eclesiastical discipline of the one is equally that of the other; and the sameness of doctrine Gotama traces to a piracy by the Brahmans of the doctrines of his predecessor Kassapa, and not to a *plagiarism* by himself of Brahmanical doctrines.*

It is indeed not improbable that Buddhist doctrines had an existence before the age of Gotama. For, it is impossible to believe that he could have produced such a system as his in a day. Kassapa himself might not therefore have been an imaginary person. But, whether such be the fact or not, it is not easy to believe that he lived before the Vedas; or that the Vedas were taken from the doctrines of Kassapa. Buddhists themelves speak reverently of 'those holy sages who originally composed the Vedas;'† and though 'life-slaughter' or animal sacrifices might have been, as stated by the Buddhists, the introduction (into the

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* See Ambatta Sutta.

† See Introduction to Kachchàyanàs Grammar,, p. cxxiv.

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Vedas) of later times; yet there are, as already shown, other differences between Brahmanim and Buddhism. In short Gotama's is a system without the exclusiveness and mystery, and the extravagance and the impenetrability of Brahmanism. It is also devoid of the shocking ceremonial of the Diganbaras, and the stupid nonsense of the Tittakas. It is a religion adapted to the feelings of the multitude, exhibiting the superiority of *virtue* over sacrifices.

The points of agreement, too, between the two systems are many. Gotama himself appealed to Brahmanical doctrines of a previous day in proof of his own.*

Again, when Siddattha became Buddha, and his mind overflowed with the ambrosia of *Dhamma,* the very first words to which he exultingly gave utterance affirmed the realization of that which *Manu*† had strongly recommended to every man, viz "the quitting of that *mansion* of the vital soul—which has bones for its rafters and beams; nerves and tendons for

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* See Bl. A. S. J. for

† 'The code of Manu is almost the only work in Sanskrit literatu, which, as yet, has not been assailed by those who doubt the antiquite of any thing Indian. No historian has disputed its claim to that early date which had from the first been assigned to it by Sir William Jones It must be confessed, however, that Sir W. Jones's proofs of the antiquity of this code cannot be considered as conclusive, and no sufficient arguments have been brought forward to substantiate any of the different dates ascribed to Manu as the author of our Law-book, which vary according to different writers from 880 to 1280 B. C.' *Max Muller's Hist, San. Lit.* p. (?)

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cords; muscles and blood for mortar; skin for its outward coverings, filled with no sweet perfume, but loaded with faces and urine;—a mansion infested by age and by sorrow, the seat of malady, harassed with pains, haunted with the quality of darkness, and incapable of standing long."* So much indeed does Gotama seem to have pondered on this Institute that he did not even lose the figures of Rhetoric in which the injunction of the Hindu law-giver was conceived, when the former exclaimed in direct reference to this 'Mansion' of the 'Human frame,' 'the handywork of that monster, Sin'—

Anekajàti sansàran sandhàvissan anibbisan
Gahakàrakan gavesanto, dukkhà jàti punappunan
Gahakàraka ditthosi, punan gehan na kàhasi;
Sabbà te phàsukà bhaggà, gahakûtan visankhitan
Visankhàragatan chittan tanhànan khayan ajjhagà. †

'Through transmigrations of numerous births, have I run, not discovering, (though) seeking the house-builder: birth again-and-again [is] sorrow. O house-

* Institutes of Manu, Cap. vi. §§ 76, 77.

† It may be remarked, that *anekajati sansaran*, which is in the accusative, should be treated as a noun in the locative, owing to its connection with an intransitive verb. *Sandhavissan* 'I will run' is in the *bhavissanti* or 'future tense,' and not *conditional*. Owing, however, to a rule by which the future takes an *ajjatani*, or past signification (See Pâṇini, iii. 2. 112; also Ballantyne's Laghu kawmudi, p. 314. No. 799) both Mr. Turnour and Mr. Hardy have correctly rendered this into the *ajjatani*, in which sense the Commentator interprets it—*sansarin* or apara-paran *nuvicharin*.' 'My mind is inclined to nibban' is, as I conceive, the nearest meaning which can be assigned to the words, 'the mind has attained (to the knowledge of) destruction.' See Mr. Fausboll's Remarks on these difficult verses, in his *Dhamma.padan*, p. 320; and the text at p. 28 of the same work.

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builder! thou art [now] seen. Thou shalt not again build a house [for me.] All thy ribs are broken [by me.] The apex of the house is destroyed, [My] mind is inclined to *nibban*. [It] has arrived at the extinction of desire.'

Even the Patimokkha discourse of Buddha for the securing of final felicity,—particularly that Gàthà which is in the mouth of every follower of that sage—

> Sabbha papàsse akaranan kusalassa upasampadà
> Sachitta pariyo dapanan etan buddhánu sàsanan.

is in substance the same injunction which Manu gives (96th on Devotion,) where he enjoins man to be "free from every desire; to devote himself to God; and to efface sin," as the only means by which he may "attain the supreme path of glory." Gotama is more explicit in his language. "*Cleanse*" says he "*the mind from all desires*," i. e. in the words of Manu, 'free thyself from every desire,' or, in the language of the Attanagaluvansa, 'subjugate the passions.' *Obtain merit*, obtain it by the practice of every virtue—'by a devotion to' that *kusala* or 'merit,' which is the substitute for 'God.' *Avoid demerit*, i. e. 'efface sin' or *akusala*, that which produces 'demerit.' *This is the advice of Buddha.*

The stanza which has been found on monuments in India, and also in the Buddhistical writings of that peninsula, and in Tibet as well as in Ceylon;

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Ye dhammà hetuppabhavà tesan hetun Tathágato
Aha tesancha yo nirodho evan vàdi mahà Samano.*

['Whatever *dhammá* have proceeded from certain causes, Tathàgata declares (the same, and) the causes of them; and whatever may be their distinction (the same likewise he declares.) The *Mahà Samana* (is one) of such speech.']—

is in close imitation of the introduction of the institutes of Manu, (the 7th on Education,)—'whatever law has been ordained for any person by Manu, that

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* This verse is found rendered in so many different ways (see Journal R. A. S. of Great Britain and Ireland, xvi. p. 37 et seq.,) that I have thought it proper to present the following passage from the *Atthakatha* or the Commentary on the Vinaya text—

Ye dhammâ hetuppabhava—iti; 'hetuppabhavà' nama panchakkhandhà,—tenassa dukkha sachchan dasseti. *Tesan hetu Tathagato aha*—iti; 'tesan hetu náma samudaya sachchan—tancha Tathàgato àha iti dasseti. *Tesancha yo nirodho*—iti; tesan ubhinnampi appavatte nirodho, tancha Tathàgato àha iti attho; tenassa nirodha sachchan dasseti. Magga Sachchan panettha sarûpato adassitampi nayato dassitan hoti; nirodhoti utte tassa sampapako maggo vuttova hoti; atthavà *tesancha yo nirodho-ti* etiha 'tesan yo nirodo *cha*' nirodhupayochati; evan dvepi sachchani dassitani honti. Idani tame' vatthan patipadento aha—*Evan vàdi mahà Samano.*

'*Ye dhammà hetuppabhavà*—i. e., by 'those that are born by some cause' are meant the *panchkkhanda*; whereby the verity of *dukkha* (sorrow) is proclaimed to him [Upatissa.] By *tesan hotu* 'their cause' is meant the verity of *Samudhaya* 'birth.' The same is also pointed out as declared by *Tathàgata*. By *tesancha yo nirodho* 'whatever may be their destruction,' is meant the transientness, the indurability of those two (sorrow and birth,) which are also said to declared by *Tathàgata*. The verity of *Nirodha* (or *Nihan*) is thereby proclaimed to him. Altho' the verity of *magga*, 'the path' (the desirableness to be delivered from sorrow and birth) has not been laid down expressly, yet it has been impliedly; for, when *nirodho* or 'extinction' is mentioned, that which leads to it (viz., *magga*) is understood. Or, otherwise in the passage *tesancha yo nirodho* 'whatever be their destruction *and*,' the *and* would include the means (which lead) to *nirodho*. Thus, both verities (viz., *Magga* and *Nirodho*) are declared. Now, [Assaji] conveying the same sense declares *evan vadi mahà samano*, that 'the great Ascetic (Gotama) is a person of such speech.'

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law is fully declared in the Vèda; for he was perfect in divine knowledge.'

We shall now turn our attention to a few of the laws and regulations which Gotama enacted with reference to the priesthood; and here too we perceive such a close similarity between them and those instituted by Manu that none can pronounce them to be accidental. "In reading the Veda let him hold out his right arm uncovered." *Manu*, cap. iv. § 58. 'Let him always keep his right arm uncovered; and be always decently apparelled;' cap. ii. § 198. The priests of Buddha are enjoined to do the same, and thus we frequently find in the Buddhistical Annals, (see Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, vol. vi. pp. 517, 521,) that the hierarchs of the Buddhist religion never preached except after 'adjusting the robes so as to leave one shoulder bare. Manu says in cap. ii. § 125, "A Brahman should be saluted 'mayest thou live long' &c. The words of Buddha are in accordance with that Ordinance.'— 'By a junior bhikkhu (says he) an elder ought to be addressed *bhante** 'lord,' or *àyasmà* 'long-lived.' 'Let him neither dance nor sing,' says Manu. (cap. iv. § 64.) So does Buddha. (See Hardy's Eastern Monachism, p. 28.) Nothing is considered a greater sin amongst the *mala in se* of Buddhism,

* ae Cap. i. § 9, note 29.

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than the killing of animals; and the consequence of eating flesh is described in the annals of that sage precisely in the manner in which the Hindu lawgiver lays it down. 'Me he (*Màmsa*) will devour in the next world, whose flesh I eat in this life: thus should a flesh-eater speak, and thus the learned pronounce the true derivation of the word *Màmsa* or flesh.' Cap. v. § 55. According to the Patimokkhan, no Buddhist Priest can eat after the sun has passed the meridian, that is, he is allowed only his morning meals: and, says Manu cap. vi. § 55,—"Only once a day let him demand food." And the reason for this is nearly the same in both the systems of Monachism under consideration: for 'by eating little and by sitting in solitary places he restrains those organs which are naturally hurried away by sensual desires. (vi. § 59.) "Let him have no domicile," says Manu, *ib.* § 43. So likewise does Buddha demand that his priests should be houseless wanderers, and live in the wilderness. 'Let him drink water purified, by straining with a cloth, lest he hurt some insect,' is the 46th institute of Manu, (cap. vi.); and this injunction is rigidly followed by the Buddhist recluse. Even the hero of the Attanagaluvansa* is said to have left his palace, with 'the water strainer in hand.' It would be idle to enumerate all the

* See Cap. vii. § 13.

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points upon which the two systems agree. I therefore pause here, proposing to append a few notes on the same subject to the body of the work which I am reviewing.

Where, thus, there is such a wonderful agreement in the Brahmanical and Buddhistical systems; when we consider also that the Vedas formed an essential part of the liberal education of every native in India and this island;* that the rules for the guidance of the social and moral conduct of people, as laid down in the Institutes of Manu, are those which from time immemorial have governed the Sinhalese as well as the Hindus, both Brahman and Buddhist and that the very compliments† bestowed on our monarchs by their subjects have from the earliest times borne reference to the adherence of the former to the *Institutes of Manu*, all wonder ceases, as to the introduction of Brahmanical rites‡ into the system of Buddha. In the same spirit in which those rites were introduced into Buddhism do many Sinhalese Christians think it not derogatory to the dignity of Jehovah to follow the religion of their forefathers, which is endeared to them by many reminiscences. And this accounts for the individuality which Buddhist nations have preserved for ages.

* See Sidatsangara p. B. A. S. J. for Sept.

† See an instance of this in my Sidath Sangarà.

‡ Asoka's adherence to Brahmans.

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It is indeed not a little remarkable that the religion which had thus sprung out of Brahmanism should have soon out-numbered its parent. Some of the causes which led to this result demand attention. At first, doubtless, the various motives which influenced conversions, were those common to all countries and all nations. "They were (in the words Gibbon) often capricious, and accidental. A dream, an omen, the report of a miracle, the example of some priest or hero, the charms of a believing wife, and above all, the fortunate event of a prayer or vow,"* served to create a deep and lasting impression. The Buddhist annals represent Brahmans as being "indolent" at this time;† and we also perceive that the public mind was predisposed to a change. The character, too, of the individual who preached the new doctrine, was not without its influence. Gotama was a *prince*. He was descended from the renowned Sâkya tribe. He was the son of a king. He had left the luxuries of a principality for the privations of mendicity. He had deserted the throne of a king, for the pulpit of a monk. Nay more, he had renounced the world to accomplish the salvation of men. He was humble in his deportment. He was pious in his conduct. He was pleasing in conversation; and decent in his attire. His admonitions came with the autho-

* Gibbon, VI. p. 272.

† Sumangala Vilâsini.

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rity of a prince, the affection of a parent, and the sincerity of a friend. Such a person was rare—such conduct uncommon. It soon attracted attention. People heard of it, and accepted it as an "*outward sign.*" It was indeed a 'visible power' and inspired them with confidence. It exerted a *powerful influence.*

The example of princes and nobles may also be mentioned. It had its due weight—*Yatà rajà tatà prajàh.* 'As is the King, so are the subjects.'* This is the case in all countries, but peculiarly so with the people of the East. At the first dawn of Buddhism, they had, as they still have, much in common with children. Like children they clung to their parental kings. Like children they listened to their parental advice. Above all they imitated their example; and embraced Buddhism.

Other causes conspired to accelerate conversion. In the infancy of the Buddhist Church, its founder was not scrupulous as to admissions into the priesthood. He permitted the branded thief, as well as 'the proclaimed criminal' to enter it.† He drew no distinction between the male and female. He gave admission to the boy, as well as the adult. He did not insist upon the consent of parents. The slave found a retreat

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* Old Pali Proverb. See my Kachchayana's Grammar, p. 72.
† Mahà Vagga.

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in the seclusion of a monastery. Those who had been affected with infectious diseases, associated with the healthy priests. The priesthood became the refuge of those who had been pursued by the fury of creditors. The enlisted soldier deserted the service of his country, and entered the *Panna Sàlá*. It was, however, not till large numbers had thus embraced the new faith, and thousands had entered the priesthood, (and there was therefore not the same necessity for unlimited liberality in Eclesiastical matters,) that Gotama laid down various restrictions. It was then, and not before, that inquiry was made as to any incurable disease in a candidate for Holy Orders. It was then that regard was had to his being 'a free man' and 'free from debt.' It was then, too, that he was required to show that he was 'not enlisted as a 'soldier,' and that 'he had his parents' permission' to become a recluse.*

Amongst other causes, *Religious Toleration*, by which the Government of Buddhist Monarchs was distinguished, was not without its salutary effect on the spread of a new religion. It is a fact, that, when Buddhism arose, and kings and princes had enlisted their sympathies in its cause, the pre-existing Brahmans and Sectarians were not persecuted. Every one

* See the Laws of Priesthood, in the C. B. R. A. Society's Journal.

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was allowed the free choice of a creed. No one lost a single state-privilege, or was deprived of his caste, or was subjected to degradation by reason of the faith he preferred. Indeed no form of faith was made *the Established Religion*. Notwithstanding the predominance of Buddhism, the Brahmans too enjoyed the free and undisturbed exercise of their religion. It was left unmolested; its forms of worship were not reproached; its professors were not reviled. They were not hindered in the exercise of their rites. Even the noisy and turbulent ceremonials of their Church found none of the impediments created by the modern Police Regulations of a far more liberal Governments. This was not all. Though Buddhism became 'the State religion,' yet the services of the Brahmans were not less in requisition than before. They were not excluded from their wonted avocations; and they lost not their civil or political power. They still continued the *Pròhita** Ministers of the Sovereign. They performed the greatest of all state-ceremonies—the Consecration of Kings. They presided over all the various universities of the Empire. They were the *rája gurus* of the kingdom, the most learned physicians of the people, and the Astrological or Astronomical Professors of the state. They received the same respect

* The domestic Chaplain, who was also a Minister. See the description of the ceremony alluded to, in Cap. iv. § 4.

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which was shown to the Buddhist priests. The people were enjoined to 'bestow gifts on Brahmans and Sramanas.'* The Rocks of Girnar, Dhauli, and Kapurdegiri, proclaim to this day the *Religious toleration* of Asoka, the most powerful and zealous of all the Buddhist monarchs.†

Although, doubtless, Brahmans were excluded from a great proportion of the personal bounties of the Buddhist Sovereigns; yet, as already remarked, Brahmans were not altogether left without 'bountiful gifts.' Although again, they were mortified to observe the superior advantages which the Buddhists enjoyed, yet they felt consoled by the conviction of their own superiority in numbers and learning. The consciousness of their numerical and scientific strength, and the knowledge, that amongst Buddhists there were numbers of 'the twice born,' served to remove all jealousy. There was indeed a conflict between the Buddhists and Brahmans; but at first it was not a conflict with the sword, *but* the *tongue*. It partook not of the *political*, but of the *polemical*. Even in their dialectics, it may be gathered, the Brahmans reviled not a *Sect*, whose doctrines were mainly their own. They regarded the Buddhists as *Seceders*; and the

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* Asoka Insciption. Tablet viii. This is quite in accordance with Manu, v. § 32,

† Vide ante, p. lii et seq.

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Buddhists called them *Sectarians*. Each looked upon the other as 'an offspring.' Each, therefore, had a filial regard for the other, though each deplored the perverseness of the other in not adhering to the principles of the parent. One, therefore, sought—not to extirpate, but, to correct and mend the errors of the other. Both resorted not to arms, but, to argument. Both attempted to persuade and convince. Whole days and weeks were spent in disputation; but without any sensible effect. When they perceived this, they dissolved the Assembly; but not in 'envy and malice.' *Like* 'learned friends' in the *law*, 'they [saluted] shook hands,' and separated after a warm debate. Indeed, as remarked by Dr. Stevenson, "the broachers of new theories, and the introducers of new rites did not revile the established religion, and the adherents of the old Vedic system of elemental worship looked on the new notions as speculations they could not comprehend, and the new austerities as the exercise of a self-denial they could not reach, rather than as the introduction of Heresy and Schism."*

This state of things continued for a long time;—indeed as long as Brahmanism itself continued in the state in which Buddhism found it; and it certainly remained until the death of Gotama. For we read† that at

* Kalpa Sutra. p. xvii.

† Bengal, A. S. Journal, vii, 1013.

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that important event, it was through the intervention of a friendly Brahman, that the corporeal *relics of the Sage were divided* amongst the contending parties. Let us now examine another cause of the wide extention of Buddhism, viz. the *popularity* of its doctrines.

'Universal Equality' is a feeling inherent in the human mind. The first approach to a breach of this heavenly right, the slightest deviation from it, socially or politically, creates a feeling of uneasiness, and even of envy. No jealousy is more deep-rooted or more inveterate, than that which is occasioned by the deprivation of one's natural right in this respect. The feeling of the Indian classes, who were at this time bound hand and foot by a horrid system of caste, by Brahmanical exclusiveness, may be easily conceived. All felt the deep degradation of their position, except the highest class of the highest caste. All, except that class, eagerly looked for emancipation. All, therefore, except that class, hailed with no ordinary feelings of pleasure the doctrine of *Universal Equality* which Gotama preached. All, with that single exception, at first regarded the preacher as a benefactor; and his doctrines with admiration. But, when those doctrines had been actually reduced to practice; when they saw the Kshestriya princes associated with Brahman converts—the Vysya traders with the *Sudra* outcasts; and that all were placed upon the same level, subject

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to the same laws, and in the enjoyment of the same privileges, the people received their benefactor with love, and made him an object of superstitious adoration. No wonder, then, that his religion was soon embraced by millions.

The last, though not the least, cause which led to *conversions*, was the mildness of Gotama's *dhamma*; or

The Doctrines of Buddhism.

But before I proceed to give a short account of them, I may be permitted to say a few words against a commonly received error—that Buddhism sanctions *Idol worship*. It is indeed remarkable that no religion in the world, that we are aware of, originated in the worship of idols. The Greeks, it is believed, at first worshipped 'an invisible god.' The ancient Persians 'thought it impious to exhibit the creator under a human form,'* The Jews originally had "no other gods" but Jehovah, whom they were interdicted from representing by "any graven image, or the likeness of any thing." The primary doctrine of Brahmanism was "the unity of god," "whom they worshipped without a symbol." Buddhism too gave no sanction to idol-worship. The introduction of idols took place long after the death of Gotama. In all countries and amongst all nations it originated in a desire to transfer from

* Macaulay's Essays, p. 10.

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the mental to the natural eyes, the sight of the object of adoration.

Man wants more than *abstraction.* He fails to understand mere words, without some image to represent the idea conveyed by them. He desires (in the language of Mahindu) 'to have an object whom he could salute, before whom he could prostrate himself, at whose presence he could rise, and to whom he could pay reverent attention.'*

It is in the very nature of man to long for a leader, and to set up a chief. The more ignorant the community, the greater is the desire manifested in this respect. As a child lives in the trust of that security which parental protection affords, so does the ignorant man seek the prop and support of a *leader.* Hence, the *monarchical* is the form of government which meets with general approbation. The Author of our being saw this, when He promised "to dwell among the children of Israel," and "went before them by day in a pillar of cloud, and by night in a pillar of fire;" and when, He promised His presence "whenever two or three should meet in His name." This inherent feeling of dependence on a higher being, is evidenced by the fact that the Israelites, treated as they were by the Almighty, could not bear the prolonged absence of

* The Dìpâvansa.

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their leader, and longed for "gods which should go before them." In our own island, after the Sinhalese had deposed their king, and Ceylon had been placed under the Sovereign of England, whom they never saw, their uneasiness was indeed great. They wanted some one to be their leader, and in 1848 a small section of misguided Kandians set up a *thief* as their king.* They preferred a vagabond whom *they saw*, to the Queen of England, or her representative, whom *they had never seen*. This feeling is, however, not confined to the State. It equally extends to the *Church*. The human mind yearns after some "visible and tangible object of worship." It loves to retain some relic of those whom it adores. As the mother often retains a lock of hair of a deceased child, or the lover preserves as a token of remembrance, some little trinket of her who inspired him with love; so the votaries of deities, the enthusiastic followers of religious teachers, when the object of their worship was no more and could not be seen, have "substituted *visible* for *invisible* objects." Thus, the Greeks created innumerable gods and goddesses. The Persians transferred their worship from the supreme mind to the 'lamp of day.' The Brahmans have formed 330,000,000† deities,

* See Blue Books of Ceylon, for 1850.

† Elphinstone's History of India, 1. p. 165.

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to whom they could burn incense. 'The Jews 'fell down and worshipped a molten calf.' Even into the churches of Jehovah the "jealous God," did His followers introduce idols of the Virgin Mother, and representations of the Saints. Nor were the Buddhists an exception to the rule. Upon the death of the sage, his followers preserved his bones and teeth. This they did at first from no other feeling than that which is common in the human breast—*chittan pasàdessanti*—'to cause the mind to be composed.'* All Buddhist countries vied with each other in the collection of the relics. A lock of his hair and his collar-bone were enshrined at Mahìyangana. Asoka built 84,000 monuments embodying the sacred relics. It was these that Mahindu characterized as *Buddha* himself, when he said—'Mahâ ràjà, our divine teacher has long been out of our sight'; for, added he, 'whenever his sacred relics are seen, our vanquisher himself is seen.'† What was seen with the eye was the better fixed in the mind. The outward and visible signs were tokens of an inward and intellectual idea of the object of adoration.

But Buddhism does not recognize image-worship. Although the Chinese and Ceylon Buddhists have a

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* Vide extract from Parinibban Suttan, *infra*.

† Dípâvansa.

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legend to the effect, that whilst Gotama was alive, a *Pilima* or statue of that Sage was made by the orders of the king of Kosala; and, although the Tibetan annals speak of Gotama having expatiated upon the advantages arising from laying up his image;* and although the *Divya Avadàna* of the Nepal collection gives a story of Gotama's having recommended Bimbisàra to send a portrait of the sage to Rudrayána, king of Rôruka;† yet, all this is regarded by the intelligent portion of the Buddhists in Ceylon as unfounded in fact, and therefore an invention of later times. A careful examination of Buddhist doctrines furnishes us with no authority for image worship; all that Gotama left behind, as a substitute for himself after death being his own doctrines, *the dhamma*. His words were, 'Ananda, let the *Dhamma* and *Vinaya*, which have been propounded to, and impressed on, thee by me, stand after my death in the place of thy Teacher.'‡ Still the prevalence of image worship is great in Buddhistical countries. *When* it was first introduced among the Buddhists of India and Ceylon, does not clearly appear; but from the conduct of Asoka, who recognizes nothing of the kind in his Pillar-Inscriptions, we may conclude that image wor-

* As. Res. xx. p. 476.

† Life in Ancient India, p. 272.

‡ Sumangala Vilásini: See B. A. S. vol. vi. p. 512.

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ship was an innovation introduced at a period later than the date of these Inscriptions. The earliest mention of images in Ceylon is in the Mihintala Inscription of 241. A. D., which speaks of "image-houses." Two hundred years afterwards, 410 A. D., Fa Hian saw "an image of blue Jasper in the Temple at Anurà-dhapura." There is, however, much reason to believe that the images which were introduced into the Buddhist temples had not been originally intended for *worship*, any more than the statues of kings which were anciently placed side by side with the idols of Buddha and the devas. Speaking of these statues, Colonel Forbes says; 'In the Mahà ràja Vihàra there are upwards of fifty figures of Buddha, most of them larger than life; also a statue of each of the devas, Saman, Vishnu, Nàta and the devi Pattini, *and of two kings, Valanganbáhu and Kìrti Nisanga.*'

The period then at which the existing idols became objects of worship, was probably the time when Brahmanical rites became blended with those of the Buddhists—when the latter came to recognize the *Samyak-Dristi* gods of the Hindu Pantheon,—when they built Temples for the worship of Vishnu, set up an idol of him whom they considered "a supporting deity" of Gotama—and commenced to make offerings to his idol, which stood alongside of Buddha.

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As idol-worship is conducted in honor of Buddha, and upon the supposition that it confers *spiritual* benefit, so likewise his doctrines are recited for the same end, and with a view also to avert *temporal* dangers. But there is no more authority for the last than for the first. The *Páritta*, or the use of *exorcism*, is frequently resorted to, as a protection against apprehended danger from disease, or demoniac influences; but upon a careful examination of the discourse of Gotama, it would seem to have been only *assented* to, but not enjoined, as a means for pacifying the demons. That is to say, although the study and frequent repetition of his discourses were recommended in place of himself 'as the *teacher*;' yet it does not appear that Gotama believed that any *temporal* benefit, beyond imparting religious consolation, could be obtained by "exorcism." And the extent to which it was authorized may be gathered from the *Páritta* ceremony itself. When Gotama was dwelling on *Gijjakùta*, and Wessavanna, the king of the Yakkhas, once called on the sage, the former in the course of conversation alluded to the aversion of the *Yakkha* races to Buddha. The cause of it is stated to have been the inhibition of Buddha against their own 'mal-practices, such as life-slaughter, theft, lewdness, lying, and drunkenness.'* From this

* The various indignities to which Buddhist as well as Brahman ascetics were subjected by the savage tribes of the times, who received the appellation of demons, are also to be found in Brahmanical works. See Rámáyana, iii. 1-22,

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aversion, which in savage tribes was tantamount to *hate*, the followers of Gotama, as well as the jungle ascetic, suffered in various ways. Wessavanna, the king of the Yakkhas, who was an admirer of the sage, was therefore desirous of averting these dangers from his own subjects. He wished to protect and defend the priests in their 'solitary retirements, free from noise and clamour.' He was anxious to keep them from harm's ways. He purposed to introduce peace into their cells. To accomplish all this it was necessary 'to pacify the demons;' and this, again, could only be effected by an authoritative edict of his own. That edict is contained in the *Atânâtiya*. It commenced with a recital of the virtues of Gotama's predecessors; alluded to Gotama's own beneficence; recounted the honors and worship which he had received from devas and men, and from Wessavanna himself; required the priest to learn the hymns in which the above praises were recited; declared the privileges of those who used it; enjoined the demons "not *even to approach* with an evil design," a person who had recited the *Páritta*; and imposed a penalty for a breach of this command. The law of the king was thus made perfectly binding on his subjects. It was delivered; and Gotama "*consented to it by his silence.*"*

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* See Rev. D. J. Gogerly's Translations in the Ceylon Friend, April 1839, &c.

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This, it is apprehended, was the origin of the *Páritta* ceremony. To the Atanàtiya were however added, in course of time, various other discourses of Buddha, which had the tendency to restore peace and quiet to the sufferers, and to give "religious consolation" to the sick. This appears from the discourses themselves, which contain no declaration of any 'temporal benefit.' Take the *Kassapa Bojjhanga* as an example. *Kassapa* was grievously ill; and Gotama visited him in his cave, and found him 'without ease and repose.' The sage preached on *contemplation, ascertainment of the truth, perseverance, contentment, placidity, tranquillity,* and *equanimity.* And these 'seven sections of moral science' he recited, not as a *direct* antidote against the ills of the flesh, but as a palliative to the sufferings of the mind, and as a means of "attaining knowledge, and wisdom, and deliverance from transmigration." The priest recovered; but it is not stated that he did so by the direct influence of the admonition. Such are the discourses added to the *Atànatiya,* which form the *Hymns* usually sung to the praise of *Buddha,* and to secure a deliverance from temporal ailments.

Connected with the subject in hand, a few words on the origin of *Chétiyas* or *Thúpas,* may not be uninteresting.

The *Parinibban Suttan* states that they "originated" upon the death of Gotama, when "eight *Thúpas* were

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built over the corporeal relics, a ninth over the *Kumbhan*, and a tenth over the charcoal of his funeral pile."*

It would seem from the same *Suttan* that *Chetiyàni* existed in several parts of the *Majjhima desa*, even during the life time of Gotama. The Atthakathà explains, that the *Chetiyàni* were not "Buddhistical shrines," but *Yakkhattanàni* 'erections for demon worship.' That they partook of the nature of both *Temple* and *Thùpa*, may be inferred from the fact, that whilst they were monuments of worship, they served also as resting places for the weary traveller. Gotama himself repaired to the *Chepàla Chetiya* for rest, and there expatiated on its splendour as well as that of many others.† It was doubtless from a contemplation of the busy throng of religious enthusiasts who crowded around these monuments of worship, that Gotama gave his sanction to the erection of the *thùpas* over his own relics, and those of his disciples. Yet, from the fact of "Universal Monarchs" being placed in the same category with *Buddha* and his *Sávakas*; it would seem that the sage had no other object, save that which we have, for building places for divine worship—to make men religious.

Gotama's words were—"Tattha ye màlan và gandhan và vannakan và àropessanti abhivàdessanti và chittan

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* See Bengal A. S. J. vii. p. 1014.
† Bengal A. S. J. vii. p. 100.

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và pasàdessanti tesan tan bhavissati dìgha rattan hitàya sukhàya.....Ayan tassa Bhagavato arahato sammà sambuddhassa thùpo—ti Ananda, bahuno chittan pasedati te tattha chittan pasàdetvà kàyassa bhedà param maranà sugatin, saggan lokan uppajjanti."*

"If in respect of *thùpas* any should set up flowers scents or embellishments, or should worship (them), or should (by such means) cause their minds to be *purified,*† such acts will conduce to their well-being and happiness.....Ananda! many, thinking 'that this is the *thùpa* of the adorable, the sanctified, the omniscient supreme Buddha,' compose their minds, and when they have caused their minds to be composed, they, upon the dissolution of the body after death, are born in a glorious heavenly world."

Reverting now to the doctrines of Buddhism, or the religion of Gotama;—it is defined by himself to mean—"the path of immortality."‡ It acknowledges man's sinful nature—represents him as altogether sinful, and his heart 'deceitful' and 'desperately wicked.' It enjoins on him the necessity of regeneration, of subjugating the evil passions, and of a thorough change of the heart. It says in plain words, that neither his extraction from the noblest progenitor, nor the

* The Parinibhan Suttan, p. jhu.

† *Pàsadessanti,* 'cause to be consoled or composed,' or to 'bring about a religious turn of mind.'

‡ Dhammapada—Appamáda Vagga § 1.

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influence of education, will secure him salvation. It admonishes him to abstain from covetousness. It warns him against "the cares of life," to the neglect of religion; against pride and "self-righteousness, which make a god of himself;"* and against evil-speaking, lying, slandering, and unprofitable conversation. It inculcates all the virtues which ennoble the soul—patience, forbearance, forgiveness, charity, chastity, humility, gratitude, obedience, &c. And these it sums up in one golden rule, which it enacts—'Reverence to parents, Charity to the poor, Humanity to animals, aud Love towards all mankind.'

By the admission of all classes and castes into the priesthood,† Buddha set his face against the pretentions of *caste*. It was indeed in accordance with the spirit of Gotama's doctrines that king Sanghabodhi is said to have declared that by reason of caste would no disgrace attach to him, if he should partake of the peasant's food."‡

In the intensity of that 'love' which Buddhism inculcates, its followers shrink, as I have already noticed, from the infliction of pain *even as a punishment*.

Whilst we are thus enabled to hold up some of its doctrines to the admiration of our readers; we must

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* Vide Cap. iv. § 5.

† The Rev. D. J. Gogerly sums up the *Buddhist* doctrine on caste as follows: 'The distinctions of caste are not admitted in the priesthood.' See his Lecture on Buddhism, p. 6.

‡ See Cap. viii. § 3.

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not omit to allude to the imperfections of a system by which its moral code becomes "comparatively powerless for good as it is destitute of all real authority." The Rev. R. S. Hardy, an undoubted authority on matters connected with Buddhism, says,* "Gotama taught the propriety of certain observances, because all other Buddhas had done the same; but something more is required before man can be restrained from vice and preserved in the path of purity." The words of John Foster, he adds, might have been written with express reference to this system. "Man," says that profound thinker "is not a being to be governed by principles, detached from an over-awing power. Set them in the best array that you can in his mind, to fight the evil powers within and from without,—but refuse them weapons from the armoury of heaven; let no lightning of the divine eye, no thunder of the divine voice, come in testimony and in aid of their operations—and how soon they will be overwhelmed and trampled down!"†

"There is properly no law. The Buddhist can take upon himself certain obligations, or resolve to keep certain precepts; as many or as few as he pleases; and for any length of time he pleases. It is his own act that makes them binding; and not any objective

* See his work on Buddhism p. 506.

† Broadmead Lectures.

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authority. Even when he takes the obligations, there is this convenient clause, in the form that he repeats to the priest"*—ahan bhante ajja ito paṭṭhàya yàva panàmi tàva visun visun rakkhanattàya pancha sikkhà padàni samàdiyàmi.—'Lord, this day I embrace the five precepts, to obey them severally, *as long as I am able,* from this time forward.'

Altho' such is the defect of its moral code, yet that which strikes at the very root of Buddhism, that indeed by which man stumbles at the very threshhold of that gigantic dome of human construction, is the fact that it ignores a great First Cause. "The wise and learned, amongst the very heathens themselves" says Hooker, "have all acknowledged some first cause, whereupon originally the being of all things dependeth: neither have they otherwise spoken of that cause than as an agent, which, knowing what and why it worketh, observeth in working a most exact order or law." As an infant, that is unable to distinguish good from evil, intuitively clings to the protection of its sire; the cannibal Indian, as well as the savage, who is removed only a degree above the beast of the field, acknowledges a supreme being. So there is something inherent in our nature which tells us of His existence; and 'this ineradicable feeling of a reliance on

* Hardy on Buddhism, p. 506.

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a supreme being is the circumstance which distinguishes man from the beast.'* In times of danger, in times of unforeseen misfortune, in times of sudden accidents, an appeal to "*God*" for succour and help unconsciously escapes the lips of even an orthodox Buddhist. Frequently have we heard our servants, who are chiefly Buddhists, invoke *God's* help, yet when we questioned them on the meaning of what they uttered, they did not seem to have a correct conception of the existence, or the attributes of an almighty being; and invariably replied that they meant some Hindu deity, or Buddha, whom they worship. Buddhism ignores the existence of a Creator of Heaven and Earth. In its creed Gotama was *a*, but not *the*, Buddha, 'perfect intelligence'—the Tathàgata, 'the successor of former Buddhas.' Buddha and gods are so many beings in the eternal existence of the universe, produced from infinite space: and sin, which is the nearest exposition of the term *kamma*, as we even perceive in the historical narrative before us,† had its existence before the beginning of time.

Buddhists divide all objects into the *sensible* and the *non-sensible*. Of the former they regard the Human species as the most inestimable; of the human, *men*, as

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* Professor Max Muller; see his Buddhist Pilgrims.

† Vide Cap. ii. § 2.

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distinguished from *women;* of men, the *ascetics*; of the ascetics, those who have achieved the paths; of those who have achieved the paths, *Buddhas*; of *Buddhas*, the *sammá-sam-Buddha*, 'the all perfect Buddha'*—the highest *ratna*, the greatest in the scale of existence. For himself he claims all the powers and attributes of Him, whom the Christian acknowledges to be 'God;' and yet, according to his own acts and deeds, Gotama was not *god*, but man. He was omniscient, but not omnipotent. He was sinless, but subject to disease and death. He was possessed of infinite wisdom, unsurpassed by either devas or men; and yet, he was not *almighty*. By a course of penetential purification, through meretorious acts, and through a vista of ages, and a series of existences, Buddha attained but a *status* to teach and convert his fellow men, and to *die* at last never to be born again.

There are also innumerable devas, and Ràkshasas of great power; none of them, however, are acknowledged by the Buddhists as *almighty:* nor indeed are they worshipped by them in the sense in which we commonly understand that term. Many of these devas, as for instance, *Anangayà*,† (Cupid) *Sirikatha* (Lakshmì or Venus) are fabulous deities under a system of Mythology borrowed from the Hindus.

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* Vide Extract No. 2. from Papancha Sudanì in the Appendix to my Kachchàyanà's Grammar, p. 84.

† Vide Cap. ii § i. note 9.

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Some are represented as being inimical to Buddhism, e.g. *Màra*, identified by the Buddhists as the Almighty Creator, whom we acknowledge,* whilst others are recognized to be the faithful devas of the Buddhist's adoration, such as Vishnu, Indra, &c. There are, again, the Ràkkhasas, greatly mighty; i. e. Alavaka, Pùrnaka, &c. None, however, of these does the Buddhist acknowledge as 'almighty.' For if Indra be, what they call, 'the god of gods,' Màra is capable of mightier deeds. He was nevertheless defeated in his attempts to kill Buddha. Let us present the reader with a light sketch of the attributes of these powerful beings, as they are represented in the Buddhistical writings. Take the Nàgas, Yakkhas, Devas, and Buddhas, each superior to the other in the scale of existence.

(i.) Of *Nágas*, a race of beings described as snakes of great power, and possessed of divine attributes, *Anantayà* has a thousand tongues, and *Nandòpananda* is so great that he encircles mount Meru with his immense body. He can pour forth fiery blasts to consume the world, but yet he is *not* almighty; for he could not withstand the attacks of one of Buddha's priests, Mugalan, who overcame him.†

(ii.) *Yakkhàs* are many, and of great power. Some are cannibals, like Ratásia, the red-eyed monster in

* See Ceylon Asiatic Society's Journal.

† See Hardy on Buddhism, p. 302.

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the history before us. Take, for instance, *Alawaka.* He attempted to drive Gotama from his habitation. He appeared like a blaze of fire. He struck with his foot *Kailàsa,* which emitted forth sparks of fire, larger than palm trees. He exclaimed '*I am Alavaka,*' and the thunder of his voice filled the whole universe. He raised a storm sufficiently fierce to destroy all the face of earth; he poured down showers of rain, sand, burning coals, ashes, and weapons; and he cast his formidable trident, *Vélà,* which if thrown into the air, there would be no rain for 12 years, if to the earth, there would be no herbage for the like period; and if to the sea, its waters would be dried up. Yet he was *not* almighty, for he could not hurt one hair of Buddha.

(iii.) Next we come to the *Devas.* Indra "is the great father of the Gods above." He is named *Sak* from his 'power divine in all things known.' He has a thousand eyes. He is the chief of heaven and earth. But yet he is represented as inferior to *Màra,* the ruler of six heavens. He meditated an attack upon Buddha, and approached him with an army that covered an area of 164 square miles. His army consisted of such an immense number that it nearly upset the earth by its weight. They were like Milton's spirits,

> 'Thick as autumnal leaves that strew the brooks
> In Vallambrosa, where the Etrurian shades,
> High over-arched embower.'

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They assumed all hideous forms of tigers, lions, boars, snakes, and garundas. They tore up trees by their roots, and dashed them against each other. They destroyed all and every thing in the battle field. Their great captain, mounted on an elephant, six hundred miles high, assumed a body containing five hundred heads and a thousand arms, in each of which he held a weapon. He caused as many thunder-storms as he had hands; and he rained fire and brimstone. Each drop of rain was as large as a palm tree; but the rain fell like a shower of lilies near Buddha. He hurled a hundred thousand volcanoes, each twenty or thirty miles in size, but they descended like garlands of jasmine. He caused a shower of weapons to fall; but the swords, spears, javelins, daggers and arrows, as they approached Buddha, assumed the form of flowers. Showers of burning coals and burning sand were next poured in all directions; but they vanished like the dew before the sun-shine. He threw his discus, that mighty weapon which could cleave the Maha Mera in twain, but without effect; and he fled in disgrace*—for he was *not* almighty.

(iv.) The being that withstood all the attacks of Màra, his fiery darts, and the showers of burning lava, sand, and coals, was *Buddha.*

* For a graphic description of this fabulous contest with Mara, see Turnour's Translation of the *Buddhawan·a* in the Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal.

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"There is no one" says he, "superior to the Tathàgata, whether it be among apeds, bipeds, quadrupeds, or millepeds; among those that have *rúpa* (organized bodies) or those that are *arùpa* (incorporeal.) He who trusts in Buddha relies upon him who is supreme, and he who trusts in the supreme, will receive the highest of all rewards. No one has been my teacher; there is none like me; there is no one who resembles me, whether among devas or men.*"

He was *Buddha* [from *budha* 'to know,' 'to understand,' *ta* aff.] a sage, a wise or learned man. He was *dasabala* [from dasa, 'ten,' and *bala*, 'power'—] 'one who had ten powers,' which are stated to be† 10 kinds of knowledge, being 1, the knowledge of causes and their effects; 2, of the laws of migration; 3, of the effects of merits and demerits; 4, of the various properties of things in general; 5, of the wishes and desires of beings; 6, of the different inherent characteristics of *Panchendriya*; 7, of the different inherent characteristics of *jhàna*, &c.; 8, of previous states of existence; 9, of the subsequent states of beings; and 10, of the means for *nibban*. He was *satthu*, [from *sàsa* 'to govern' or 'teach,' *tu* aff.] Teacher or Preceptor. He was *Sabbañ ñu*

* Aggapasàda Suttra, given by the Rev. S. Hardy, see his work on Buddhism p, 361.

† See Vibhangapakarana, Cap. xvi. called *Nànavibhanga*.

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[from *Sabban* 'all' and *nà* 'to know,' *nu* aff.] 'he who knows all things'—'one of boundless knowledge, or, of infinite wisdom'—'omniscient.' He was *dipaduttama* [from *dvi* 'two,' *pada* 'foot,' and *uttama* 'chief'—'the highest,'] 'the highest amongst bipeds.' He was *munindra* [from *muna*, to know—thence *muni*, 'sage,' and *indra*, 'chief'] 'chief of sages.' He was *bhagavantu* [from *bhaja* 'to serve,' and *vantu* aff. 'worthy of being served']—'the adorable,' 'the worshipful.' He was *Nàtha* [*nàtha* 'to ask (from whom) and *a* aff. 'one who had wealth or power,'] 'master,' 'lord.' He was *chakkhumantu* [from *chakkha* 'to see' and *mantu* aff.] of (deep) sight; which, according to the Buddhists, consists of *mansa* 'bodily or natural sight,' the power whereof was so great that he could discern the smallest object at the distance of sixteen miles; *dibba*, or 'divine,' supernatural sight far surpassing the natural; *paññá*, sight of 'wisdom'—capable of an insight into superlative wisdom; *buddha*, sight of 'knowledge'—that sight which none possessed but one who has attained the status of a *Buddha*; and *samanta*, boundless sight, or omniscience. He was *Angírasa* [from *anga* 'body' and *rasa* 'lovely,'] 'lovely bodied,' having reference to the beauties of his person, which 'shone like a bright flame, free from smoke or ashes.' He was *muni* [from *muna* 'to vow,' 'to revere' and *i* aff.] 'a reverend ascetic.' He was *lokanatha* [from *loka* 'world' and *nàtha* chief,] the chief of

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the world, or lord of the universe. He was *Anadhivara*, [from *an* neg. *adhi* prep. and *vara* 'superior'] peerless. He was *mahesi*, [from *maha* 'great' and *isi* 'sage'] the greatest sage. He was *vináyaka* [from *vi* prep. and *nàyaka* 'chief,'] chiefless—the only chief, the greatest spiritual preceptor. He was *Samanta-chakkhu*, [from *samanta* 'all round,' and *chakkhu* 'eye']—eyes on all sides, 'omniscent. He was *Sugata* [from *su* 'well,' and *gata* 'gone' or 'known']—who went to happiness, or had attained the height of bliss, one who knew or acquired the (source of) happiness. He was *bhúripañña* [from *bhùri* 'much,' *pañña* 'wisdom']—of wisdom the highest, 'the wisest of men.' He was *Màraji* [from *Mára*, the 'god of that name,' and *ji* 'overcome'] the Conqueror of *Mára*.* He was *narasìha* [from nara 'man,' *Sìha* 'lion,' in the sense of pre-eminent] the chief of mankind, the greatest among men. He was *naravara* [from *nara* and *vara*] 'best of men.' He was *dhammarája* [from *dhamma* 'virtue,' 'law,' and *rája* 'king'] 'the most virtuous, or the fountain of the Law. He was *Mahàmuni* 'the highest of the Munis, the greatest of sages. He was *devadeva* [from *deva* doub. *div* 'shine'—'god'] god of gods. He was *loka-guru* 'the teacher of the world,' 'the preceptor of the universe.' He was *dhamassámì* [from *dhamma*, and *Sámì*] 'lord of the dhamma.' He was

* Not "death," nor "cupid ;" but a god of that name.

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tathágata [from *tathá* 'thus' and *àgata* 'come'—who has come in the same manner (as the other Buddhas.') 'Successor [of former Buddhas.*] He was *Sayambhù* [from *sayam* 'self' and *bhû* 'be,'] self-existent [Buddha.]† He was *Sammâ-sam-buddha*‡ 'of all the most supreme Buddha.' He was *varapaññu* [from *vara* and *paññu*—'the highest among the wire'] 'the wisest of men.' He was *náyaka* [from *ni* 'to guide' and *navu* aff.] 'leader'—the Chief. He was *Jina* [from *ji* 'to conquer.'] Vanquisher or the conqueror of birth and death.§

'The eye cannot see, nor the ear hear, nor the mind of man conceive of anything more excellent or more worthy of regard than Buddha.' 'He was self taught,' 'matchless,' and 'supreme in all things.' His own words, which proclaimed his pre-eminence in the thundering voice of a lion, were—*Aggo hamasmi lòkassa Jettò hamasmi lòkassa settho hamasmi lokassa ayam antima jàti natthidhàni punabbhave;* that is to say, 'I am the most exalted in the world, I am the most excellent in the world, I am supreme in the world; this is my last birth; I shall not be born again.

* See Commentator on this word in Turnour's Mahawansa, Introduction, p. lvi.

† This is a Brahman epithet, but does not import 'self-created.' The Buddhists interpret the term to mean 'the attainment of Buddhahood by self-control, by means of his own exertions.'

‡ See definition of this word, infra note to § i, Cap I..

§ The above epithets are taken from the Abhidànapadìpikà; and I have here endeavoured to give their Etymology with their secondary meanings, sh wing at the same time their Theological sense.

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It is however a fact which may be gathered from his own books, a fact upon which the doctrine of merit and demerit rests—that he was *not almighty*. To him belonged neither "mercies nor forgivenesses;" for he had no control over the soul, or the destiny of man, whom he did not create. He could teach him, and lead him through the narrow road which leads to the abyss of eternal nothing, *Nibban*; yet, if his *kamma* should lead him to destruction, Buddha could not avert his fate. He was not unwilling to save his relation, who was destined to hell. He foretold his fate, and when the period of its consumation arrived, and *Devadattha* in his downward course, 'through the bowels of the Earth, encircled by floods and whirlwinds of tempestuous fire,'

"..... down
To bottomless perdition"—

clung to the robes of Buddha, and yelled out 'so loud that all the hollow deep of hell resounded—*Save, O save me!*' Buddha could do nothing!

Such are the powers and attributes of Buddha! How different are they from those of that being, the object of the Christians faith! He is "the Lord our Maker." He is 'Almighty' (Rev. 1. 8.) 'Strong is his hand and high is his right hand, (Ps, 89. 13.) He "is a great God, and a great King above all gods. In His hands are all the corners of the earth, and the strength of the hills is His also. The sea is

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His, and He made it, and His hands prepare the dry land." 'To Him belong the issues from life'—that life whose author and creator he is. 'He is the resurrection and the life,'—'the Author, the restorer, and preserver of life.' He is all powerful to quicken whom he will; no obstruction ever presents before him. His word is all that need be heard. "God said let there be,—and there was light." It was his command. It was enforced by his *omnipotence*. He raised Lazarus, who had been four days in his grave; after his *nàma* had fled from his *rùpa*. After the latter had commenced to decay, He summoned back his departed soul; he fused it with the mouldering body, and produced the perfect man. After the elements of the body had been broken up; they were reproduced, and brought into existence. Of the identity of the man there was no doubt. It was the same *nàma*, and the same *rùpa* that had existed before his death. It was the same flame of life, which had enlivened his body from his birth even unto death. After its reproduction, lo! it was Lazarus, the same brother of Martha and Mary. He had not changed, like "a babe, unto the vigour of manhood;" "a pot of milk, into curd;" "or a seedling into a tree."* Is not, then, the being who revived Lazarus, over whom death pre-

* For an explanation of the terms *Nàma* and *Rupa*, vide Milindapanna, translated in my *Contributions to Oriental Literature*, vol. i. p. 174.

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vailed, to be revered as "the Almighty?" But, further, — let us present another feature of His still more exalted character. Two attrocious malefactors were crucified with our Lord. One was as depraved as the other. Both were thieves. Both were equally punished; and both were on the brink of destruction. Hell gaped its mouth wide open to receive them both. A minute, but a minute, there was between everlasting life, and everlasting misery. In this brief interval did one of them look to Jesus for pardon and forgiveness, as Devadattha had his last hopes on Buddha. 'He to whom all hearts be open, all desires known, and from whom no secrets are hid,' failed not to perceive the devoutness of that faith in his *almighty* power, which led the sinner to implore for mercy. No sooner, therefore, had the malefactor offered his prayer, than it was granted. His faith was rewarded. Jesus at once exhibited his almighty power. He raised him from 'the unquenchable fire,' over which he was impending, into that Paradise of bliss in the everlasting kingdom of Heaven. He washed that *kamma*, which hurled the thief into destruction, with the blood which He streamed on Calvary's cross. The Thief was saved by Christ, for He was almighty; but Devadattha perished, and was consumed by fire; because Buddha had no control over 'kamma,'—because he was powerless either for good or for evil.

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From the above reflections I return to the subject, and to a brief, but closer, examination of the principal doctrines of Gotama; and here my remarks will be confined to a few topics connected with the Onthology, and the Ethics of Buddhism.

i. Buddhism denies anything like the Brahman *àtman* or 'own self,' or *paramàtman* or 'eternal self,' or what we call the 'soul.' It forbids us to say "*I 'am*" or "this is *I*." Man is composed of five *khandas*—'organized body,' 'sensation,' 'perception,' 'discrimination' (including all the powers of reasoning), and 'consciousness.' And, it cannot be predicated of any of these, or of their attributes, the twelve *ayatandni*, which are 'the eye and the objects of sight, the ear and sound, nose and smell, the tongue and flavour, the body and touch,' 'mind [or power of thought] and objects of thought'*—that they constitute 'ego.' Of each of the above, Gotama teaches—'*I am* not this'—'*this* is not my soul'—*name eso attà*—'this is not a soul to me.' It is a nonentity. His words are, "Priests, it should be distinctly known as a fact, that the rûpa, or perceptible body is transient,—that that which is impermanent is (full of) sorrow—that that which is *sorrow* is not the *(self)* soul; that any thing which is not the *self* is not mine. It is not *ego—it is not my soul.*"† It is simply 'existence,' or life.

* See the Rev. D. J. Gogerly's Translation in the Friend, ii. p. 87 et seq.

† Ib.

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ii. Life, according to Buddhism, had no intelligent Creator. It was the result, of chance—not of design. It was the consequence of '*Kamma*,' 'good or evil merit,' produced by *avidyâ* or 'ignorance.'* Here the Creator is not an active agent. He represents nothing corporeal, or spiritual. It is an abstract quality, without itself a cause or creator. One abstraction produces another abstraction; the last, a third; and so on,—until we have 'life,' this form of human existence. Gotama, as we have already seen, (ante p. cxxviii.) compares man to a 'mansion;' and designates 'the first cause' by the metaphor *gahâ-kâraka*, or 'house-builder.' But he exults with joy, that the *creature* has risen above the creator; and that the architect has no longer the power to build for him another house! The creature is thus not responsible to the 'First cause,' which lays down no laws for his guidance, and is unable to do any thing either for good or for evil. The creator, as we have seen, does not control life's existence. Indeed, he bears no more relation to man, than the leaf does to the butterfly which leaves it after various changes. The creature is the *Lord* over his own life. It was in accordance with such doctrines that Sirisanghabodhi, in the History before us,† exclaimed, in offering his head as a propitiation—'I am the lord over my own body!'

* See Ceylon Friend, for April 1839.

† See Cap. vi. § 11.

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iii. Although hells without number have, without a Creator, sprung up for the punishment of the wicked; yet it is not the sinner who is punished in them. Although Buddha has often declared his own identity with certain characters in the Jâtakas;* yet this is not supported by his doctrines. According to those doctrines, the *nàma* and *rûpa* which constitute this life, are not identical with the *nàma* and *rûpa* of the life hereafter.† One being, therefore, suffers for another. One's sins are visited upon another. The sinner and the sufferer are not identical. 'If there is a dissolution of all the elements of existence at death, it follows that there is no hereafter, and no future world to that existence.'‡

iv. Yet the doctrine of Buddhism is that life transmigrates; and that every thing changes constantly from man to beast, from beast to fowl, and from fowl to creeping thing. There is, therefore, an eternal cycle of existence. The law of merits and demerits alone causes the degree of happiness or misery of all things. This also is full of uncertainty. Though merits are said to be more powerful than demerits; and however abundantly a being may perform merito-

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* E. G.—At the close of the *Apannaka Jataka*, Buddha says: 'The former unwise merchant and his company are the present *Devadatta* and his disciples, and I was then the wise merchant.' Also see the Jâtaka in the Appendix.

† Milindappanna.

‡ Hardy's Eastern Monachism, p. 396.

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rious deeds; yet upon his worldly dissolution he can have no hope of happiness in an after-birth; for, the demerits of a former existence might outweigh the good deeds of this life; and even during the enjoyment of happiness do *upapílaka*, or 'ad-interim' sins, come to pass.* He dies, therefore, "without hope;" and, as we have already seen, "without God."

Now, although as before remarked, no religion has worked so great a revolution—no creed has had so many votaries—no faith has lasted so long a period, as Buddhism; yet no religion is calculated to create a greater despondency in the human mind, than Buddhism. Like the religion of the Christian, Buddhism may, perhaps, be "the bond of charity," "the curb of evil passions," "the teacher of morality;" but, decidedly, it is *not* "the consolation of the wretched," "the support of the timid," or "the hope of the dying." There is nothing in it to cheer "the weary and the heavy-laden." There is nothing to give a hope to the guilty. There is nothing to encourage the penitent sinner. No encouraging words, such as "Him that cometh to me, I will in no wise cast out," are to be found in the Pitakattàya. No promise of forgiveness gives the Buddhist a hope of salvation. No 'knock,—and-it-shall-be-opened' welcome greets his ear. On the contrary, every thing in the Buddhist bible is calculated

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* *Vide post* Cap. vii. § 13, note 20.

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to alarm him. This, in the language of Buddhism, is indeed a state of things "full of evil, misery and pain." Yes,—to one, who has no notion of an eternal existence hereafter—to whom God hath not revealed by his Holy Spirit the unspeakable joys of heaven, *life* is a dreary waste; existence is devoid of those fascinations which the Christian alone feels; and heaven is not a place of "rest," but a temporary habitation of enjoyment. In vain, therefore, are the efforts of a Missionary of the Cross to win the soul of the Buddhist by presenting before him scenes of heavenly bliss. Talk to him of 'that holy calm'—'that sweet repose'—'the Cherubim and the Seraphim that continually do cry—Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Sabbaoth'—of the throngs of angels, who bow "towards either throne"———'with a shout

> Loud as from numbers without number, sweet
> As from blest voices, uttering joy.'

—speak to him of 'crowns of glory' 'inwove with amarant and gold'—of 'the hallelujahs of the glorified'—'the troops of sister spirits arrayed in the purest white'—of 'the ceaseless songs of sweet music.' Set before him in the most glowing language of poetry 'the palms of conquest'—'the beatific vision,' and 'beatitude past utterance.' Picture to his mind's eye 'the sense of new joy ineffable diffus'd'—'love without end, and without measure grace;' 'the near communion with God,' and the 'bright effluence of

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bright essence increate'—all appears to him infected with blemish, imperfection and impermanence—all seems to him "foolishness;" aye, "the baseless fabric of a vision which leaves no wrack behind!" All *heavenly* to him is, what all *earthly* is to the inspired Preacher—"vanity and vexation of spirit:" and why? Simply because *Heaven* to the Buddhist is not, what it is to the Christian—

'The end of care, the end of pains.'

Existence in the eye of Buddhism is nothing but misery. It is connected with disease, decay and death. It is subject to 'grief, wailing, pain, anguish, despair, and disappointment.' It resembles a blazing fire which dazzles the eye, but torments us by its effects. There is nothing real or permanent in the whole universe. "Every thing perishes.' *

Anichchà vata sankhàrà
Uppadda' vaya dhammino,
Upajjitvà nirujjhantî
Tèsan vùpa samo sukho.

'Perishable things,† which are characterized by birth and death, are indeed transcient.‡ They come to being, and die away. To extinguish them is bliss!'

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* Nagàna dhammo no nigamassa dhammo
Nachà' pa yan eka kulassa dhammo;
Sabbassa lokassa sadevakassa
Eseva dhammo yadidan anichchan.

'Is anything (evanescent, or) transient, the same is not a charteristic peculiar to one village—it is not a property limited to one town—nor is it a quality confined to one family. It is the very nature of [all things in] the Universe, including the region of Gods.'

† *Sankhàrà*—all states which come to being, exist, and die away.

‡ 'Not everlasting'—'impermanent'—'evanescent.'

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I have thus reviewed the Attanagaluvansa in a religious, political, and historical point of view. Not less interesting is it in other respects. 'The objects,' says Professor H. H. Wilson, 'for which an ancient dialect may be studied are its philology and its literature, or the Arts and Sciences, the notions and manners, the history and belief of the people by whom it was spoken.'* Many of these objects may indeed be attained to no mean degree by a study of this historical Novel. It is reckoned by our learned Pandits as one of the best Pàli works which can engage the attention of a beginner. Though more artificial than the style of the Pitakas, it is by no means inferior to many other works such as Buddhagosa's *Atthakathà*, *Milindappanna*, etc. It even excels in its diction the *Mahavansa*, the *Dìpávansa*, the *Rasawáhìnì*, etc. Its language is generally intelligible, and, altogether, elegant. Indeed I have been induced to undertake its translation as the first Pàli work which is read in many of the Buddhist Monasteries of this Island, with a view to illustrate grammatical forms; and now that I have brought my work to a conclusion,—with what success I must leave the reader to determine,—I feel convinced that I could not have selected, with my limited opportunities for execution, a book more calculated to assist the Pàli Scholar, or one which better delineates the manners and feelings of the Sinhalese, or more largely draws its illustrations from the Institutions, Usages, Arts, and Sciences which prevailed among them.

With a view, however, to render the work interesting to the general reader as well as to the Oriental

* Pr. Wilson's Hindu Plays, vol. i. p. ix.

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Scholar, I have been compelled to add rather copious notes and annotations, some of which, owing to their length, and to render their printing easy, I have transferred to the end of each chapter.

To assist the learner I propose to give the Text in the Appendix; and the Sections into which I have divided each chapter of the Translation, will be found to correspond with those of the Original. I regret, however, that the absence of a complete fount of types in any of our printing establishments in Ceylon, has prevented me from publishing it in the Roman character, so as to afford greater facility to European Students.* The same must be pleaded as my excuse for the many errors in the Romanized portions both in the Preface and the Notes.

I have also given in the Appendix the translation of a portion of the *Kàdambarì*,† a Sanskrit work, from which the writer of the *Attanagalu-vansa* seems to have borrowed much of the imagery contained in the fourth Chapter. A comparison of the Pàli Text with the Sanskrit work referred to, may prove not only interesting but highly instructive to Oriental Scholars. It is however, not without great diffidence that I publish this Translation, for the execution of which I have had no more qualification than what my limited acquaintance with the Pàli has afforded me.

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* This I regret the more, as an earnest hope is entertained by Professor Weber, in his elaborate Review of my *Kachchàyana's Pàli Grammar* printed in his *Bibliographische Anzeigen* that I should 'use only the *Roman character*,' since 'the *Sinhalese letters* are difficult to read, and cause needless trouble.'

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The object with which I have added to the Text of the *Attanagalu-vansa*, the translation of two *Jàtakas*, will be found explained in a preliminary note in the Appendix.

It was my intention to add to this work a *Glossary*, after the fashion of Sanskrit works published in Europe; but I regret that, for want of the leisure which I enjoyed some time ago, I must defer doing so till a future opportunity.

Before alluding to the translation, it may be here convenient to determine the date of the Text. Tradition affirms that it was written in the reign of Parakkrama III., the celebrated patron of men and letters in the 13th Century, (1266—1301 A. D.) Both *internal* and *external* evidence support this belief. Its style is not incompatible with that of other works of this date. The events, too, which it records are brought down to the end of this prince's reign; and it is remarkable that the writer, after recording the various works which Parakkrama had executed in connection with the Temple of Attanagalla, abruptly concludes the History by expressing a fond hope, that the annals of Attanagalla from thenceforth might be continued by future historians.

"If hereafter any pious (persons) by way of repairing that which is dilapidated, or adding any thing new to it, or of making a provision of offerings (for it), such as fields etc., shall maintain this Temple, let them *record in continuation* their names as well as their acts."

Although the above is not conclusive proof of this work having been written at the date to which the events it records are brought down; yet it may be

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safely inferred that a work which implies the prior existence of Parakkrama III., was written during, or subsequent to, the reign of that prince; and how far posterior may be conjectured from another fact, viz., that the self-same work was translated into the Sinhalese during the reign of Buvanekabàhu in 1304 Saka, or 1382 A.D. answering, according to the Chronological tables of Mr. Turnour, to the 4th year of the reign of Buvanekabàhu IV. of Gampola. The following is a condensed Translation of the Introduction of the Sinhalese work.

'The original work (entitled) the *Attanagalu-Vihàra-Vansa*, which was afore-time composed in the Màgadhì language *upon the basis* of ancient writings and traditions, was in the year of Saka 1304 translated into the Sinhalese language, at the desire of *Satru Sinha Kunjara*, Chief General of the Forces, supported by *Arthanàyaka*, Minister.....and his brother *Alkeswara*, ...the prime minister of King Buwanekabàhu; and under the auspices of the illustrious* *Sanga-Ràja* Anomadassí, as his name indicates, 'the highly accomplished' in the Tri-piṭaka doctrines of Buddhism, consisting of *Sûtra*, *Abidharma*, and *Vinaya*, and learned in Akshara, Likhita, Ganita, Gàndharva, Nakshattra, Chandas, Nighandu, Alankàra, Sàliyahotra Tantra, Tantra, Mantra, Jawtigñàna, Itihàsa, Puràna, etc.†

* The above sentence presents some perplexity from peculiarities of construction. Just before each name there are a number of complimentary epithets which have been omitted in the translation with a view to avoid the long suspension of the connection between the several members of that sentence.

† *Akshara* may be translated 'Letters;' *Likhita*, 'Writing;' *Ganita*, 'Calculation or Arithmetic;' *Gàndharva* 'Music Dancing;'

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The *Anomadassi* mentioned in the above passage is also named in the original Pàli version; and the following extract from the Mahawansa contains the reasons for the belief generally entertained that he was identical with the priest of that name therein mentioned, to whom the Temple of Attanagalla was bestowed by Parakkrama Bàhu.

Tato gantvàna so Hattha-vanagalla Vihàrakan
Raññà vutta niyàmena katvà bahu dhanabbayan
Kàràpetvàna pàsàdan tunga singan tibhùmakan
Anomadassi nàmassa mahà sàmissa dhìmato
Tan datvàna tato tassa mahàràja niyogato
Dànavattampi kappetvá Silà lekhanmakárayì.

'He (Patiràjadeva), having gone from thence (Adam's Peak) to the monastery of Hattha-vanagalla, and having pursuant to the orders of the King, expended large sums of money, built a high mansion of three stories. Offering it to the erudite and venerable Lord, named Anomadassi, and establishing according to royal command a continual bestowal of alms for him, he put up a stone Inscription.'*

Nakshattra 'Knowledge of Asterism;' *Chandas* 'Prosody;' *Nighandu* 'Science of words or Philology;' *Alankàra* 'Rhetoric;' *Sàliyahotra Tantra*,..... *Tantra Mantra* 'The Prayers of Vedas;' *Jawtigñàna* 'Astronomy;' *Itihàsa* [The Sinhalese regard this as a fifth Veda; e. g. 'Itihàsa panchaman Vedan, Ugganhi so visárado'—*Dìpàwansa.*] and *Puràna* 'Ancient historical works:' [but see Wilson's Sanskrit Dictionary.] The reader will observe that Sinhalese writers adopt the Sanskrit forms of names. In my Translations I have employed not only the Sanskrit but the Pàli and the Sinhalese forms, according to the sources from whence they were taken.

* This Tablet is still found in the compound of the Temple; see note 26 to cap. vii. p. 97.

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According to the above record and the tenor of other passages in the Mahawansa, the Attanagaluvansa must have been written, as is generally believed, by a pupil of Anomadassi during the latter part of the reign of Parakkrama, when that monarch had retired from the active labours of life by entrusting the Government to Wijayabàhu.

In the translation of this work into English I have sought to be strictly literal, for which I have been blamed by some of my friends. It is true, that, with a view to greater elegance in expression and style, I might have been more free; yet it will be observed that by so doing I would but ill accomplish the object I had in view—the promotion of a more accurate knowledge of the Pàli language than at present exists. It is nevertheless a fact that I have occasionally found it impossible to preserve a literal rendering. The very great difference of the two languages both in expression and construction, has rendered it necessary to be sometimes free, and occasionally to transpose the sentences. But I flatter myself that the sense of the whole has been faithfully conveyed nothwithstanding that my own deficiencies in English have compelled me to retain many expressions which might have been more elegantly and idiomatically rendered.

One of the characteristics of the Pàli, like all Eastern compositions, is, that much of the sense which Europeans ordinarily express in writing, is left out to be supplied by the reader. These omissions frequently render a literal translation inelegant, often ridiculous, besides being very obscure to those who are not intimately acquainted with the habits of the East, and above all with the doctrines of Buddhism. I need

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therefore hardly intimate that I have supplied this deficiency and the implied significations of terms, within brackets or in foot notes, and, where they exceeded reasonable bounds, as already stated, in notes at the end of each chapter.

In conclusion I cannot refrain from expressing my most sincere thanks to my learned friend, C. A. Lorenz, Esq., who, amidst his multifarious duties and avocations, cheerfully rendered me much valuable assistance in the course of this publication, not only by revising the proof sheets, but also by various hints for the elucidation of the text, and for the correction of the phraseology of my translation.

It is indeed unnecessary to speak of the valuable assistance I have received from my Pandit. I have already acknowledged it in several works which I have published; and I can only add that though living at 'the very fountain-head of Pàli literature,' I could scarcely have accomplished the undertaking without the intervention of one so eminently qualified to instruct as Don Andris de Silva Batuvantudàve.

I beg also to express my obligations to the Government Printer and his Assistant, who have spared no pains in carrying this work through the press.

JAMES ALWIS.

7th March, 1866.

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ATTANAGALU-VANSA.

CHAPTER FIRST.

Obeisance to him (who is) the adorable, the sanctified, the omniscient, supreme Buddha.*

1. May the lamp-of-Buddha, which is being lit with the wick-of-wisdom in the pure-love[1] overflowing-lamp-of-(my)-heart, ever *illumine*† the composition of my words, and their pleasing significations, by dispelling the entire darkness of ignorance.[2]

2. Dwelling upon the highly pleasing History of Siri Sanghabodhi, one possessed of the virtues of a *Bodhisatta*[3] from amongst the Sovereigns of Lankà, I celebrate THE HISTORY OF THE TEMPLE OF ATTANAGALLA,[4] and

3. Venture upon this (work,) following in the footsteps of ancient historians, and old legends;[5] and, encouraged by him, who is named the cele-

* The small figures refer to the Notes at the end of each Chapter.

† ——— 'What in me is dark
Illumine..... *Milton.*

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brated *Anomadassi*[6] of the Brahman race,—a hierarch of (all the priests) the Buddhist-Religion.

4. In the island of Lankà,[7] in which the poisonous spots* of scepticism[8] were washed away by the ambrosial *dew*[9] of Buddhism, there is a Province called *Manibheda*,[10] abounding in numerous mines of invaluable gems—an ornament to the land of the Sinhala, and a place propitious[11] to the achievement of the conquest by the resplendent Buddha, of the assemblage of *Yakkhas*,[12] and *Ráksha*s, congregated in the forest of *Mahànàga*.[13]

5. And there is the *Váluká*,[14] a great river of pure waters, that embellishes this Province like a (victorious banner) *Royal Standard*, hoisted up on Mount *Sumana*,[15] happy in the acquisition of the print of Buddha's foot, which no other mountains had received.

6. There is also a great *Thûpa*[16] (called) *Mahìyangana*,[17] that glitters like a *bubble*[18] in the body of the Yakkha-of-metempsychosis (or unceasing transmigration,) occasioned by the burning touch of the fire which was emitted from the leather-seat of Buddha, when expelling the devils.[19]

7. Methinks the assemblage of *autumnal*[20] clouds, which lowered upon the steadfast figure of the *thûpa*, had gathered together to imbibe the waters of this ever-flowing great river.

8. The shadowy forms (of the *thûpa*,) which the fluctuating waves reflect in the limpid waters of this river, dazzle like the encircling coils of *nâgas*, who,

* *Visa-kalanka*—'poisonous spots, or marks,' 'pestilential scars.'

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intent upon worship (offering,) remove it to their own region.[21]

9. In a village adjoining the *Mahìyangana* Temple, there was (a prince) named *Selàbhaya*[22] of the *Khattiya* tribe.[23] Having had a son, he presented (exhibited) him to Fortune-tellers.[24] They examined the lineaments of his body, and declared—'This prince is one who is not to be trifled with. He is a very fortunate and blessed personage; and will exhibit great valour, and perform astonishing and wonderful feats, after setting up the *parasol of state over the entire island*[25] of the Sinhalese.' Although Selàbhaya, the Khattiya, who heard of his son's (future) prosperity, (such as his) coronation, etc., was filled with profound joy; yet, apprehending some treachery on the part of *Vohàratissa*,[26] the monarch reigning at this time at Anuràdhapura,—he took away the infant, and laid him in the midst of a large congregation of priests, headed by their Chief Nanda, that had assembled at the *Pâritta* hall[27] in the *Bodhi*-compound[28] of the *Mahìyangana* monastery; (and addressed the latter as follows:)

'Lord,[29] this infant of mine is *presented** with a view to (ensure) the protection of the priesthood and of the *Bodhi* tree. Let him be taken care of by Your Reverence, and let his name be *Sanghabodhi*.' Having thus committed the prince to the guardianship of the Priesthood, and the deity who presides[30] over this great Bodhi, Selàbhaya (returned home with his son); and, when the latter was seven years old, under his father's protection, Selàbhaya died.

* *Gachchhati*—lit. 'goes'='is introduced or presented.

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10. Thereupon, Nandá *théra,*[31] the maternal uncle (of the young prince) took him to his monastery; and, whilst under his care, taught him (divinity) the *te-pitaka*[32] doctrines of Buddha; and made him a great proficient in other Arts and Sciences.* Prince Sanghabodhi, being of sharp intellects, through his own merits, grew in knowledge and judgment [sound understanding], and attained to *years of maturity*:[33] and he became greatly renowned by reason of his highly pleasing and agreeable conduct,† and his ravishing beauty.[34]

11. Why need we expatiate on them? It will exceed our limits‡ minutely to describe his highly pleasing bodily accomplishments—accomplishments created by the Architect of his *pàramità dhamma,*[35] by imbuing his *braided*-hair§ with the softness, blackness, and length of [lit. taken or borrowed from] a mass of rainy clouds;—his face, with the pleasing delightful gentle charms of the full-moon;—his neck, with the polished fat-unevenness of a tawny gold-coloured chank[36];—his chest, with the full firmness of a splendid rock;—his (two) arms, with the wish-conferring virtues, and the stoutness, length, and playfulness (the properties) of the branches of the *heavenly-tree;*[37]—his thighs, with the *gait,*[38] and also the form of the trunk,

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* *Báhirá Sattha*—'inferior arts'; See Note 7. Cap ix. § 5.

† *Savanjali putehi assàdiyamána*—'conduct [worthy of being] fed with the hand-like-ears.'

‡ 'Lit.—'increase the bulk.'

§ *Dhammilla*—'braided hair,' 'the knot of hair on the head.'

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of an *ichor-filled* Gandha-elephant ;[39]—his knee-*capped* calves, with the beauty of a gold-handled mirror ;—and his (two) feet, with the red soft glow of the petals of the Lakshmí-ever-seated-Lotus.[40]

12. & 13. How great (indeed) is the fame of (this prince's) person of golden hue, rivalling the form of the Lotus,[41] dazzling in the acquired endowments of a tranquil (mind),* rich in tender youth, and full of charming beauty! Wafting around (in all directions) the sweet fragrance of his *lokottara*[42](virtues); having in the inaccessible fortress of his heart vanquished the enemy of *vice*†; having, as it were, therein inaugurated his allied-sovereign *Dhamma*‡; and, moreover, proclaiming the words of his doctrines (instructions)—this wise (personage) regulated his conduct§ by those precepts.

END OF THE FIRST CHAPTER

ON THE BIRTH OF THE PRINCE.

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* *Vapasamá*—'calm, pacific, tranquil mind'—'state free from the perturbations of the mind.'

† 'Vicious inclinations,'—those faults which are committed by means of the mind.

‡ 'The truth,' 'the doctrines and teachings of Buddha'; his 'religion.'

§ The original conveys 'bodily acts.'

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NOTES AND ANNOTATIONS.

* This is the usual Páli adoration with which the sacred books open. It is composed of epithets, supposed to have been uttered by *devas*, when Gotama became Buddha. M. M. Burnouf and Lassen have rendered this into Latin, thus : 'Adoratio huic Bhagavat (domino) arahat (venerando) completo intelligendi.' *Namo* is to 'bow,' 'bend,' 'pay obeisance;' *bhagavato* means the 'adorable,' 'the worshipful'—from thence it becomes the appellation of a deified personage, also of a Buddha ; *arahato* is a 'saint,' 'a person who has attained a highly sanctified state,' 'an inspired sage ;'—thence it is an epithet to Buddha. *Sammá Sambuddha* is also an appellation of Gotama, from *sammá* 'all,' 'wholly,' 'perfect,' and (in accordance with the virtues claimed by the sage) 'omniscient,' and *sambuddha* 'perfectly wise,' 'supreme,' as opposed to *pachcheka* 'by himself a Buddha,' i. e. 'one who cannot *himself* help others to attain the highest sanctity of an *arahanta*,' or 'one devoid of those benevolent feelings, which induce the all-perfect Buddha to labour earnestly for the benefit and salvation of all.' See Rev. Brigant's Notes, 54, on the Legend of the Burmese Buddha. *Sammá Sambuddha* is 'the Buddha *par excellence*,'—'the Buddha of all.'

For his other names, See Introd. p. clx.

1. *Sneha*—'oil' or 'love.' This double-entendre heightens the beauty of the Metaphor here used. I find the same pun upon this word in the *Mritcha Katika*. See Wilson's *Hindu Theatre*, i. p. 40.

2. The correspondence between this invocation, and the following in the *Sàhitya Darpana* is manifest:—

"May that Goddess of Language, whose radiance is fair as the autumnal moon, having removed the overspreading darkness, *render all things clear in my mind !*"

3. *Bodhisatta*.—This is one of many instances where this word is applied to kings. See *Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal As. S. for* 1858—9, p. 101. It means 'a pious venerable

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personage,' 'a follower of Buddha who is endowed with miraculous powers, and who is generally considered as an inferior incarnation of Buddha.' See also Prof: H. H. Wilson's *Hindu Theatre*, ii. p. 117.

In the Rája Tarangini, this word is thus explained—Loke bhagavato loka, nathá, dhárabhya kechana, ye janta voga takkleshan, bhodisatvána vehitàn—'know ye that if there is any person in the world from the sanctified Buddha downwards, who has destroyed *klesha*, he is a *Bhodisatva*.'

4. *Hattavanagalla Vihára Vansan*—'History of the Temple of Hattavanagalla,' always pronounced *Attanagalla*. See Introduction p. xii.

5. *Itihá*—['legends'] conveys 'a traditional account of men and things;' and from the application of the word here, as in many of our books, especially in the Comment on the Text, it would seem to be the opposite of *àkkhyàta*, 'written history;' [but see Introduction.]

6. *Anomadassi*—literally, as his name signifies, 'of mature perception, or wisdom.' He was the author of *Daivagñakámadenu*, a work on different Sciences. See Introduction.

7. *Lanká*.—This is the name by which this island is commonly known. Its other names are given in the following stanza, which we take from the *Dípávansa*, p. 249.

Ojadípo Varadípo Mandadìpocha tadà ahú
Lankà-dípocha pannattí Tambapannì-ti ñayàti.

It is said in another passage (p. 248.) that the same is 'thirty-six *yojanas* in length, eighteen in width, and a hundred in circumference; and it is surrounded by the sea.'

Battinsa yojanan digghan a*tt*hárasahí vitthatan
Yojanan satan àva*tt*an, Sàgarena parikkhitan.

The same dimensions are given in the *Papancha Sùdanì*, a commentary on the *Majjhima Nikâ*, where King Bhattiya is made to say, *imasmin Tamba panna dìpe iman yojana satikan rajjan ayyassa dìmá* ti; 'I give to thee (Kálabuddharakkhita) this kingdom in the island of *Tambapanni*, of one hundred yojanas.'

Great misapprehension prevails as to the precise measure of a

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yojana, which, I believe, could not have been more than seven or eight English miles. Be this however as it might, the account above given seems to be more in accordance with fact, than the tradition which states, that—

Yojanà nan satan dîghan
Tattakan puthulan tathà
Tiyojona satà yàman
Lankà dipan niyamitan

Ravanà-ràjadhànîcha
Tambapannîcha Sîhalan,
Tatheva Lankà dîpanti
Nàna nàmehi vuchchati—

'The island of Lankà is defined to be one hundred yajanan in length, the like in width, and three hundred in circumference. It is called by different names (i.e.) the Kingdom of *Rávaná*, *Tambapannì*, *Sîhala*, and *Lankà-dîpa*. As to the origin of the word *Tambapannì*, the following is the account of it in the Dîpàvansa.

Ukkhitta vàta vegena
Disà màlhá mahájanà.

Lankà dîpa'mupà gamma
Orohitvá thale thità,
Patitthità dharani tale
Dubbalàti jighachchhità.

Pipàsità kilantàcha
Padasà gamanena cha,
Ubhohi pàni jannúhi
Viyàtan katvà puthuviyan.

Majjhe vutthàya thatvàna
Nahipassanti sobhanan
Surattan pansu bhúmi bhàge
Hattha pànimhi makkhitan.

Nàma deyyan tadà ási
Tambapannî'ti dîpitan.

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'By the fury of the Tempest the large assemblage of people lost their way, and reached *Lankà dipa*; (where) having disembarked, and landed, they (lit. those who thus stood on land,) were weak and hungry. When they became thirsty and faint by walking on foot they rested on the ground, with both their *palms*, and knees. And, when they rose, and stood up, they saw in the interval (of space occupied by them) nothing beautiful. The dust, however, which stuck to the palms (of their) hands, was very ruddy. Thence the celebrated name *Tambapanna*.'

8. *Kuddiṭṭhi*—'scepticism, non-belief; the disbelief of heaven and hell, of the existence of a supreme being, and the reward of happiness or misery in a future existence.' This is different from *Michchàdiṭṭhi*; See Note 3 to Cap. xi.

9. *Suddhopogá*—here rendered 'the ambrosial dew,' means 'the ambrosial *river*.' (See Dasakumàra Charita).

10. *Manibheda*, the Páli form of *Minibe*, the native term for a province of that name.

11. *Siddhakkhettabûta*—'a place predestined for success,' 'a propitious or lucky locality.'

12. *Yakkhas, etc.*—The aboriginal inhabitants of Ceylon are here meant. They partook of the non-human nature of 'demons,' and were identical with the Hindu *Daityas*, *Dánavas*, and *Mlechches*. See Cap. vi. § 1. Note 2. Their language too, was probably the *Paisáchika*; but we have not sufficient materials to institute a comparison between this dialect in the Plays with the language of the Veddás, supposed to be the descendants of *Yakkhas*.

13. *Mahánága*, a place in Bintenna.

14. *Váluká*—the Pali form of *Veli* 'the sandy'—the appellation for the river *Mahà-Veli*.

15. *Sumana*—a name for Adam's Peak. The metaphor conveys the fact, that the *Mahà-Veli* has its source on mount *Sumana*, which is called after the name of its presiding deity. Except in the historical works of Ceylon, there is no account of this supposed impression of Buddha's foot, in any of the earliest records of Buddhism.

16. *Thûpa* 'a heap of earth'—a conical erection for enshrining the relics of Buddha. See Introduction, p. cxlix.

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17. *Mahìyangana* a place in Bintenna.

18. *Bubbulan*, which, owing to the nearness of its sound, and from its being expressive of the shape intended to be conveyed, I have here rendered a 'bubble,' means 'a sinuous ulcer' or 'pistula'—'a small boil or pimple'—the *visphotaka* of Sanskrit writers.

19. The metaphors which occur in this part of the work may be better understood by a reference to the following details in the *Saddharmaratnákara*, which states: 'Upon Gotama's first visit to Lankà, which was in the ninth month after he had become Buddha, he alighted on the banks of *Mahàváluká*, near a forest called *Mahá nága* in (Bintenna), the seat of two belligerent *Yakkha* armies. On approaching them Gotama made a frightful noise, and caused a great darkness. He then dispersed the cloud and appeared in the sky, *emitting a volume of smoke from his body*. He afterwards assumed the appearance of a moon. When the Yakkhas had seen these wonders they were greatly terrified, and permitted Gotama to occupy as much space of ground as could be covered by a *carpet of a skin*. No sooner he had thus taken possession of the ground assigned to him than he caused *Pillars of fire to arise at each of the four corners of the Carpet*, and the fire extended throughout the entire forest of 24 square miles, driving the Yakkhas to the sea shore.' For other particulars see *Mahawansa*, pp. 2, 3.

20. Saráda—Autumn. The Sinhalese, like the Hindus, divide the year into six seasons, commencing from March—April..... 1. Vasanta 'Spring'; 2 Gimhána (hot) 'Summer'; 3. Vassá 'Rainy'; 4. Sarad (clear) 'Autumn'; 5. Hemanta (dewy), 'Winter'; and 6. Sisira 'Cold.' The expression in the text implies 'unseasonable.'

21. The *Nága world* is supposed by the Buddhists to be under the Rocks which support Mount *Meru*; and the beings who are the occupants of that region are said to be demi-gods. These mythological beings are often confounded with a people called the *Nágas*, who are stated to have inhabited Kashmir, (see the analysis of *Ràjatarangini* in the *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xx.,) and Ceylon at a very early period.—See *Mahavansa*, p. 5.

22. The Sinhalese version of this work calls *Selábhaya*, a

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'king'; and an inscription on a rock at Mihintala, which I have noticed at p. xiii. *supra*, also styles him 'Monarch' or 'King.' He was probably a provincial chieftain, or sub-king of the *Lamba-kanna* family, so called, on account of their 'hanging ears,' perhaps the result of the weight of their ear-ornaments. Mr. Turnour has rendered *Lamba-kanna* as a "*race* who wore large ear-ornaments."—See *Mahawansa*, p. 228.

23. *Khattiya*—It can scarcely be denied that *Kshatriya* is the Sanskrit form of this Pali word; yet the Buddhists do not agree with the Brahmans as to its origin. The former derive it from *Khetta* 'field'—and thence apply it to signify 'the king, who was the lord over fields.'—See Introduction p. xlvi. But the Brahmans trace this word to *Kshayate* 'protect,' and apply it to kings and princes, whose undoubted duty it is to protect their subjects. Thus, in the *Játimálà;* (see Colebrook's works ii. p. 178.) 'The protector from ill *kshayate* was *Kshatriya.*'

24. *Angalakkhana pathakànan*—Scientific men who judge of the temper or fortune of a person by the lineaments of his body.

25. *Ekachchhattan*—'one umbrella,' 'one canopy.' Anciently Ceylon, like India, was divided into several principalities. When, however, one prince was enabled to set aside the pretensions of the rest, and establish his supremacy over the entire land, the several *Chattá*, which denoted so many *thrones*, were reduced to one which is the meaning of ekachchhattan; and, he who was instrumental in subduing the others became 'sole Monarch.'

26. *Vohàratissa*, a prince accomplished in 'law and polity' who reigned 209—231. A. D.—See *Mahawansa*, p. 226.

27. *Páritta Hall.*—A hall set apart for the purpose of repeating the *páritta*, which is the ritual of priestly exorcism. These discourses constituting this ceremony have been translated by the Rev. D. J. Gogerly.—See *Ceylon Friend* for April, 1839. Also the remarks thereon in the Introduction, p. cxlvii.

28. *Bodhi*—Every Monastery in Ceylon has a large compound, in the centre of which is found planted the *Bodhi* tree, or the *Ficus Religiosa*, which receives the same veneration from the followers of Gotama that is accorded to his scriptures, and the priests. For

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the history of this tree, see Sir Emerson Tennent's *History of Ceylon*, vol. ii. p. 613.

29. *Bhante*—'Lord.' Those who confine their grammatical studies in the Páli to the Bálawatára, have found a difficulty to account for the termination of this word.—(See *Five Játakas* by M. V. Fausböll, Note, p. 22.) The peculiarities in the declension of this word are thus stated in the Rûpasiddhi : Bhavanta saddassa ga-yo-ná-savachanesu viseso. So bhavan. Bhavatoti vattate, obhávo kvachi yosu vakárassa—bhavanta ichchetassa vakárassa obhávo hoti kvachi yo ichchetesu. Te bhonto, bhavanto, bhavantá: bhavatoti vattate; bhogetu—sabbasseva bhavanta saddassa bho hoti ge pare; tu saddena bhante bhontádi cha. Galo—po—bho, bhante, bhonta, bhontá; bhonto, bhavanto, bhavantá; bhavantan;—bhonte, bhavante. Násesu obhávo kvachi ti yoga vibhágena obhávo; bhotá, bhavatà, bhavantena; bhoto, bhavato, bhavantassa ichchádi.

Bhadantassa, bhaddanta, bhante. Sabbasseva bhadanta saddassa bhaddanta bhante ichchete ádesá honti kvachi ge pare yo sucha; he bhaddanta, bhante, bhadanta, bhaddante vá ichchádi *purisa* sadda saman.

Before ga (voc. s.) yo [nom. voc., ac., pl.] nâ [ins., aux., s.] sa [dat. gen. s.] the word bhavanta 'Lordship,' 'majesty,' undergoes change. So bhavan, 'That lordship' [nom.] The word *bhavato* follows [the rule].—The *va* before *yo* is optionally changed into o' [i. e.] before the [inflexion] *yo*, the *va* in the word *bhavanta* is optionally changed into o; e. g. Te bhonto, bhavanto, bhavantá [nom. p.] The word bhavato follows [the rule].—'Before *ga* it becomes *bho* etc,' [i. e.] before *ga* the entire word bhavanta becomes bho, and, by the force of the word *tu*, '&c.,' also bhante, bhonta, etc. The *ga* is elided [as before; and we obtain] bho, bhante, bhonta, bhantá, [voc., s.]; bhonto, bhavanto, bhavantá [voc., p.]; bhavantan [ac. s.]; bhonte, bhavante [ac, p.]. As to *ná* and *sa*: by analyzing the rule *obhávo kvachi*—'optionally (it) becomes o'—[the *va* before ná and sa.] is changed into o; [e, g.'] bhotá, bhavatá, bhavantena [ins., s.]; bhoto, bhavato, bhavantassa [dat. s.] etc. The word *bhadanta* [is changed into] bhaddanta and bhante. [i e.] Before go and yo's, the entire word bhadanta is

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optionally changed into bhaddanta and bhante. [e. g] 'Bhaddanta, bhante !' and likewise into bhadanta, bhaddante. (The other cases) are formed like those of the word *purisa*.

30. Many oriental nations consider that mountains and large trees are under the protection of some divinity. Thus, *Samantakûta*, which is also called *sila-sumana*, or *samanala* (Adam's Peak) is named after its presiding deity, *Saman*.

31. *Thera*—means an 'Elder.' It is synonymous with *yati;* and both these terms are equally applied to a priest of ten years' standing from the period of his *Upasampadá* ordination. For the different appellations which the Buddhist priests receive, see the remarks in the Journal of C. B., R. A. Society for 1856—8. p. 245. *et seq.*

32. *Te-pitaka*—The Pàli *pitakattâya*, consisting of three 'chests' or 'repositories;' and they are designated the *Vinaya*, *Sutta*, and *Abhiddhamma*. The first treats on *'discipline'*; the second contains 'discourses' of Gotama to the laity; and the third embodies 'pre-eminent truths.' The whole of the *Pitakattáya*, including its comments, contains matter equal to 2,547 *bhanaváras*. A bhanavâra consists of 250 *Gàthâs*, or stanzas; and a stanza 32 syllables; or, according to the English mode of expressing each consonant with its inherent vowel, 64 letters. The 2,547 bhanavâras would therefore contain (2,547 × 250 × 64=) 40,752,000 letters, a number which exceeds the contents of the entire English Bible, which has only 3,567,180 letters,* by more than *eleven* times. The text alone took seven months in the rehearsal, at the first Convocation.† Upon each of the sections of the *dhamma*, a commentary was propounded by the early priests of the Buddhist religion, upon the death of Gotama. For a detailed account of them the reader is referred to Mr. Turnour's *Mahavansa*, Introd. p. lxxv, and the Rev. R. S. Hardy's *Eastern Monachism*, p.p. 168. et seq.

33. *Vayappatto*—'attained to age,'—'manhood.' This is *Yobbana*, or the second stage of man's life, which he attains with the

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* See Hardy on *Eastern Monachism*, p. 190.

† For an account of this, see my *Contr. to Oriental Lit.*, i., p. 178.

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sixteenth year of his age—*Yobbanan patvà sòlasa vassuddesì koyève*; the first being 'childhood (*or bâla*)' till one's sixteenth year—*ashòda sàd bhavet bàlah.* The third, *varddhashya*, 'age that melts in unperceived decay,' extends from sixty upwards.

34. *Loka lochana nissiyamàna*—'beauty drunk with the eyes of the world.' These are very pleasing metaphors, and are occasionally met with in our books. The words 'feed' and 'drink are also found employed in a similar sense by western writers. Thus, the expression, 'to feed the eye with the beauties of a landscape.'

'My ear hath not yet *drunk* a hundred words.'
—*Romeo and Juliet.*
'But thronging crowds will press to hear
And *drink* the strain with eager ear.'
—*Horace*, 13 *Od., lib.* ii.

35. *Pâramitàdhamma*—means virtues, or religious duties exercised or performed in aspiring to become a Buddha. We shall more particularly allude to them hereafter (vide post note 4, Cap. v. § 1.) The expression, 'the Architect of his pâramàtàdhamma' may here be rendered 'the agency of his duty-accomplished-merits.'

36. This is a comparison not altogether unknown to Western writers. Thus in Ovid. (Metam. lib. 13.)

Lævior assiduo detritri æquore conchis.
'more *sleek thy skin,*
Than orient *shells* that on the shore are seen.'
—*Dryden.*

37. *Suratura*—'The heavenly tree,' which, like the *kap tura*, or the horn of *Amalthea* given by Zeus to the daughter of Milicius, conferred whatever was desired. By the comparison here instituted the writer not only describes the physical qualities of the Prince's arms, but also conveys his unbounded charities which were effected through the instrumentality of his arms.

38. 'The *gait* of the Elephant.' This is a comparison that is very frequently met with in our books. Thus in the Sanskrit, *Sâra mâna wara rohà nagebha gamanàhiya.* 'Is not this a beautiful

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woman whose *gait* is like that of a large Elephant.'—*Nalodaya*, p. 247; also see *Mrithackatika*, in Pro. Wilson's Plays 1. p. 14.

39. The comparison, too, of one's thighs to the tapering gracefulness of the Elephant's trunk, is frequently met with.—See *Buddhavansa* in the Bengal A. S. Journal, vii. p. 806; also Pro. William's *Sakuntalà* p. 126. *Gandha-goja* may be rendered 'musk Elephant,' 'a young Elephant supposed to emit a particular smell at all times.' The word is found in many oriental works. Thus in *Mudra Râksha*, Canto 11. *gandha-gajasya nàse.* 'Ichor-filled'—filled with a fragrant unctious red ichor, which the Elephant is said to exude in the season of rut. Thus, in Kalidas's poem entitled the *Umà*,

——————'wild Elephants
Their huge *sweating fronts* rubbing o'er it amain.'

Thus again in the same Poet's *Ritu Sanhàra*

Kapola desà vimalotpala prabhas
Sabhunga yúthair mada vàribhihshitah.
'His ample front like some rich lotus shows
Where sport the bees, and *fragrant moisture flows.*'*

Naturalists, who have failed to observe this (see *Encycl. Metrop.* art. Elephant) affirm it to be mere perspiration. Strabo, however, in his description of India, lib. xv. p. 91. fully confirms the Asiatic notion, and states, that the Elephant in the season of rut grows furious, and emits a sort of fat through a pore or vent which he has near the temples.'

40. This beautiful flower, of which there are different species in Ceylon, is the great favorite of oriental writers, especially the Brahmans and Buddhists. It is employed to express beauty in general, and, frequently, as an object of comparison to different parts of the body, such as the face, the hands, and feet. Here the comparison is to the last; and to heighten the beauty of the metaphor the writer describes the flower (nymphœ or nelumbium), after the fashion of the Hindus, as the very seat of *Lakshmi*, the goddess of beauty. The reason why the *red Lotus* is compared to one's

* See *Megha Dûta*, p. 21.

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feet may be found in the practice which anciently existed, of staining the soles of the feet with a red colour. Thus in the *Hindu Odes*, by John David Paterson, in *Gladwin's Oriental Miscellany*,

> 'The rose hath humbly bowed to meet,
> With glowing lips her hallowed feet,
> And lent them all its bloom.'

41. Here again the entire person is compared to the lotus. But it is the face that is more frequently compared to it; as in the following passages —'His countenance was as the lotus fair'—*Nalodaya*, p. 221. 'Whose beauty rivalled the fair lotus flower.'—*Raghuvansa*.

42. *Lokottara* 'that which is above the world'—'above all the desires to which a living being is attached'—'a state in which there is entire freedom from *Kàma*'—'a path to Nibban.'

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CHAPTER SECOND.

1. Afterwards, one day, the chief *thera*, his uncle, after hearing the *Dhamma*,[1] summoned to his presence Prince Sanghabodhi, who had attained to years of maturity, and addressed him as follows:

'Venerable Prince, you have now mastered (the doctrines of) Buddhism; you are acquainted with all other arts and sciences;[2] you have perfected yourself in all the *varied accomplishments of a pandit*;[3] you are indeed born of a family descended from the proud *Khattiya* race; you are endowed with the fascinations of a youthful constitution; you are matchless in beauty;[4] and you are gifted with preternatural[5] strength.[6] These (latter) qualities are great and powerful incentives to (the commission of) evil. Every one of them, by itself, is a source of *sin*.[7] But, how much more do they tend (to it) when they are all united in one person? [When such is the case], the serene wisdom (of man), though it is laved in the waters of science, is polluted. His faith,* however pure, is liable to be vitiated by (the vanities of) youth. The youthful nature of man, by its own free will, drags (him) to a great distance like the whirlwind which, raising up

* Ditthi, 'notions of religion'—'religious belief.'

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swarms of dust, (scatters) dry leaves; and (likewise) is the *mirage*[8]-of-wealth distanced which allures the deer-of-his-(five-fold)-senses.

'This is, therefore, a fit and proper season for you, who are still a stranger to carnal lusts (to listen to the advice of teachers; (for, at a time) when Cupid's darts[9] lacerate the heart, the admonitions of teachers vanish away like water (poured into a broken vessel).* Both the education and (high) lineage of the evil and the disobedient become useless and unprofitable. For, wherefore does not fire burn the highly scented Sandal-wood?[10] The *submarine fire*[11] rages even the more (on its contact with) quenching water. Thus, it behoves you to follow the advice of teachers.

2. 'The admonition of Teachers easily enters the innocent heart, (and settles there) like moon-beams upon the polished crystal.† To the disobedient, advice, though pure as water, produces great discomfort, like a dart thrust into the ear; but to the obedient (it serves) much to their cheerfulness (of the countenance) same as an ornament in the *Elephant's cheeks*.[12]

'To what evils does not the heart resort which follows the passions stained with lust, (whose commencement) was before the beginning (of existence.)[13] The sub-

* I believe this is a common expression to signify what I have supplied within parenthesis. The reader will observe that in this place as in many others, several words must be added to complete the sense. Such elliptical construction is common both in the Pàli and the Sanskrit.

† See Sidatsangarà, p. lxxxiii, et seq.

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jugation of the passions, therefore, by both princes and asceties, through the exertion of their minds, (cannot fail to) produce various good results in this world, as in the life to come. That may indeed be achieved* by those who court the society of teachers and elders, and follow their precepts. You should not, therefore, fail to the end of your life to take refuge in (the three-fold protective formulary) of the *three-wealths*.[14] Pour the water-of-abstinence from the *ràga*-(evil desires)-of-Epilepsy[15] into the fire of the five-lusts-(of the-flesh).† O Prince,‡ observe the destruction of the locust, which enslaved by the lust of the *eye*, falls into the blazing fire; of the deer on its approach to the snare (of the hunter), ravished with the delight of the *ear*;[16] of the bee, [as it alights on] the (flapping) ears of the furious elephant,[17] deluded by the pleasures of scent *(nose)*; of the fish, that swallows the bait for the gratification of the taste *(tongue)*; and of the elephant, from an attachment to his mates, [as he roams maddened] by desires of the *touch*.[18]

When such are the dangers that result from each individual sensuality, how shall I describe the enormous *web*§ of evil which is produced by a union of them in one lusty person, filled, at the same time, with the five sensual desires! O wise person, ponder

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* *i. e.* 'The passions may be subjugated.'

† I am by no means sure that I have here caught the precise meaning of the original.

‡ *Kallyàn'abhinivesi*—'thou who hast formed good principles.'

§ *Jàlan*—'assemblage,' 'multitude'—thence metaphorically 'a net' = 'a web.'

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thou always upon these salutary admonitions, and those that follow.

3. 'If a wise man understand the real wants of the body, he will never seek the enjoyments of the *laic*.* The gratification of one, who, deluded by (the allurements of) love, forms an attachment to young women, is like that produced by the scratching of a sore—(transitory).

4. 'If one is not fettered by (the demands of) women, which always produce the cares and troubles of life, who is the person that will serve others, and bear the disgrace (of servitude)?[19]

5. 'The character of woman is like that of the archer's dart, which, the nearer he pulls it (with a view to increase its velocity), the more it (forces) starts in a contrary direction, and the farther it goes after leaving the cord.

6. 'Like a glazed wall (which reflects the shadows of all objects alike), she forms an attachment even with strangers. Though greatly *secured*,† yet she should, at all times, and at all places, be distrusted as a double-edged sword.[20]

7. 'When restrained from within, and stopped from without, she becomes, like one's breath, his own destruction. Who (then,) is the wise man that will put his confidence in woman?[21]

8. 'The mind (of man) is ever inclined to sin. (The

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* For the difference between the *laic* (householder) and *clerus* (bhikkhu) see *Contributions to Or. Lit.*, vol. i. p. 144.

† *Hattigassa*—'although secured in the fist'—'had got into your grasp,' and therefore, 'in your power.'

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gates of) hell are wide open, and all around (us) there are sinful associations; and how (therefore) can we be altogether free from *fear*?[22]

9. '(Prince, there is yet) another (matter on which I shall offer a few words of advice.) Never let the serpent of Anger out of the core of your heart; but keep him at bay (disturb him not) by the charm of Forbearance.

10. 'The slander darts of the wicked become blunted (on reaching) the shield of forbearance of the righteous, and are changed into the flowers of Praise* (bestowed) in the society (of the just); whence they become bound with the flowery chaplets of their virtues.

11. 'Let not the *delaying* lusts† (which sustain existence in the ocean of metempsychocis)‡ afflict you, for they will never be satiated even upon the acquirement of worldly supremacy, abundant wealth, and lovely children and wives.

12. 'Abandon from your heart the fire of *dosa*,§ that which afflicts mankind like an enemy, and which deprives them of their personal accomplishments, renown, health, wealth, and (adherents) friends.

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* This refers to the practice of investing persons with wreaths and garlands as marks of honorary distinction. See note 9 to Cap. iv. § 3.

† 'Delaying lusts,'—for an explanation, see extract from Nettipakarana in my Introd. to *Kachchàyana's Grammar*, p. 110.

‡ 'Continual birth'—'ceaseless transmigration.'

§ 'Anger,' 'hate,' 'malice'—of which 'envy' or impatience at the success of another is a component part.

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13. 'Do not be distressed under afflictions, for they are not *alleviated** by dejection. It is declared (by sages) that (when affliction assails us) perseverance led by wisdom is every-where the fist which grasps at success.[23]

14. 'Exertion of all beings is effected for their happiness; but there is no happiness except in virtue (*dhamma.*)[24] Be ye therefore, endowed with virtue.'

15. When the chief *thera* had thus discoursed on the duties of (the righteous) man, the prince,† neither with a sulky face of disrespectful inattention, nor with eyes averted in another direction, nor with the elephant's wink of pride,[25] nor regarding (the lecture) as a reflection on his own (wisdom) virtue; but with an up-lifted respectful *anjalà*[26] of the hands, with a cheerful face denoting joyful looks, and expressing *Sàdhu*,[27] and with a body clothed with the coat of *horripilation*,[28] turning and inclining his hands (towards his preceptor) fell prostrate on the ground; and, making a respectful obeisance, was filled with delight more profound than that produced by the advantages of *Maggaphala.*[29]

END OF THE SECOND CHAPTER,

ON ADMONITION.

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* The expression in the original is—'distress under affliction is not a *patikkriyà*, *i. e.* 'something done for temporary relief,—not effectual or permanent cure.'

† Lit.—'he who is endowed with delightful virtue.'

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NOTES AND ANNOTATIONS.

1. *Dhamma*—'the sacred scriptures,' 'theology.'

2. *Bàhirà satthe*—'all sciences except Theology,'—'the inferior arts.' See note 7 to cap. ix, § 5.

3. *Chàtubhidha pandichcha-kotippatto.* 'Thou hast arrived at the termination of the *four* accomplishments of a *pandit*.' These four accomplishments are stated in the Sinhalese version of the Attanagalu-vansa to be *adhyayana*, *adhyápana*, *utgrahana*, and *dhàrana*; and Pr. Max Muller states, 'to teach is expressed by the causative of the verb *adhyeti*, *adhyàpayati*, he makes read, *i. e.* he teaches.'—*Apastamba*, *Dharma Sûtra* iii. 86.* The same writer adds; 'the ancient Hindus distinguish between two kinds of reading, the *grahanàdhyayana*, the acquisitive reading, and the *dhàranàdhyayana*, the conservative reading; the former being the first acquisition of a work, the latter its rehearsing in order not to lose a volume that once belonged to one's mental library.' It seems that this distinction is not known to the Sinhalese, who from the earliest times have been taught to read by means of *written books*. By the term *adhyayana*, therefore, they simply convey 'an ability to read.' *Adhyàpana* is [adhyàpanancha kurvànah sishyànàn, 'those who cause the teaching &c., of pupils,'] is 'an ability to instruct or teach others.' *Utgrahana* ('taking up, lifting up, upholding, bearing the weight of sciences, or knowledge) may be interpreted to mean 'a knowledge of sciences;' and *Dhàrana* ('maintaining, retaining, keeping the mind collected,') is simply 'a retentive memory.' This definition of a learned man, it would seem is more comprehensive than that of the Jainas who called Mahà-vìra —'*Sûraê, vûrae*' and '*dhûrae*'—expressions which Pr. Max Muller, interprets to mean 'a rememberer;' 'a guardian (who keeps it from profane eyes') and 'a holder,' (who does not forget the knowledge which he once acquired.'†) The accomplishments of a *Pandit* may also be gathered from the Pàli adage—Su-chi-pu-li mutto katan

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* History of ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 509.

† *Ibid*, p. 509.

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pandito bhaveyya. 'How can one be a pandit who is devoid of *hearing* [reading,] *reflection* [retention,] *inquiry* [conversation, or investigation,] and *writing*.' It would thus seem that according to Orientals, *memory*, and the three accomplishments ['reading, conversation, and writing'] insisted upon by Lord Bacon, constitute the *Pandit*, or a 'full, ready, and exact man.'

4. 'This beauty goes beyond the bound of human race.'
——*Anvari Suhali*, p. 639.

5. In the Text the word for 'super-human' or 'supernatural' is *amànusan*, which literally means 'non-human,' 'unworthy of the name of man,' 'rude,' 'barbarous,' 'savage.' Mr. Turnour in his translation of the *Mahavansa*, (see p. 52), has rendered this word '*inhuman*,' which, I apprehend, is an error of the press.

6. 'With all surpassing force endowed, with peerless splendour was he graced.'—*Raghuvansa*.

7. The word I have rendered 'sin,' means 'that which is opposed to discipline, teaching, or doctrines'; therefore 'insubordination,' 'non-conformance to religious precepts,' 'impiety,' 'sin.'

8. *Miga-tanhikà*. 'That which is the desire of the deer.' It is said of the *deer* and the *elk* that in the dry season of the year, when there is generally a scarcity of water, they leave the jungle, and approach the open country, led by what is generally known as the *mirage*, 'an optical illusion arising from an unequal refraction in the lower strata of the atmosphere, and causing remote objects to be seen double, as if reflected in a mirror, or to appear as if suspended on the air. It is frequently seen in deserts as presenting the appearance of water.'—*Brande*.

9. *Cupid's darts*. This fabulous deity of Hindu Mythology is *Ananga*, or 'the bodiless.' This is either metaphorical as to his influence on the mind, or is descriptive of the legend, that he was reduced to ashes by the anger of Sivà when pierced by *Kàma's* darts, and thus inspired with love for Parvati. Regarding him as a creature of the mind he is called *Mano-bhû*, or 'the mind-born.' He is said to inflame the minds of men for sensual pleasures, and is thence called *Madano* or 'the Intoxicator.' He is also represented like his Grecian parallel, *Eros*, with a bow and arrows. It is to

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these latter that allusion is made in the text. They represent the various sensual desires by which the mind is enslaved. The description of these weapons in our books is truly beautiful. The bow is a 'sugar-cane,' whence the appellation *Sia-Sevu*, or 'creeper-bow.' The bow-string is made up of a line of *bees*, who 'sip the liquid sweets of flowers.'

The darts, or the *pancha-sera*, are five in number, each of which is tipped with a flower. Hence the name of *Kusum-dunu*, or 'the flowery-bow.' The five species of flowers are described to be, 'the white dazzling *Jasmine*, the matchless *Asoka*, the unspotted *Idda*, the far-famed *Mahanel* (Lotus), and the odorous *Mango*.'* Sir William Jones has separately described them in the following beautiful lines:

'He bends the luscious cane, and twists the string,
With *bees* how sweet, but, ah! how keen their sting!
He with five flowerets tips the ruthless darts,
Which through five senses pierce enraptur'd hearts.
Strong *Chumpa*, rich in odorous gold;
Warm *Arka*, nursed in heavenly mould;
Dry *Nagesar*, in silver smiling;
Hot *Kriticum*, our sense beguiling,
And last, to kindle fierce the scorching flame,
Love shaft, which gods bright *Bela* name.'

10. *Chandana*, the sirium myrtifolium, a large tree, the wood of which is celebrated for its highly esteemed perfumes, unguents, etc. Allusion is made to the last in cap. vii. § 3. See note thereon. It is also employed by the native medical men as one of the many ingredients used in cases of Fever. Considered, therefore, as a substance possessing the double quality of allaying heat (fever), and producing a delicious scent, its selection for the illustration of the subject in hand cannot but be considered happy. It may be stated that this tree is frequently mentioned in Oriental works as the peculiar habitation of Serpents. See *Sidatsangarà*, p. 8.

* See *Contributions to Oriental Literature*, vol. ii. p. 125.

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11. *Valabánalo.*—Between the Pàli *valabà*, and the Sanskrit *badava*, there is but the difference of the two dialects. The interchange occasionally of *b* and *v*, and the change of the Sanskrit ḍ into ḷ in the Páli, is well known. Yet it is not a little curious that the Buddhists, whilst adopting the Hindu word for "*Aurva*, 'submarine fire,' called *badava* or *bàdava*, and personified as the son of the Saint Urva,"—assign to it the like meaning of a 'submarine fire.' To suit however, their own doctrines, the Buddhists explain it to be—not the deva of Hindu Mythology, 'who consisting of flames and with a *Mare's* head, sprung from the thighs of *Urva*, and was received by the ocean,' but the unquenchable fire* of hell so rigorous that its contact with water only inflames it the more.' And the *Badavà-mukha* or 'the Mare's Mouth,'† wherein the Hindu *Urva* entered, is described in Buddhist books by the same name *Valabàmukha*, as a pool or hollow in the trough of the sea occasioned in stormy weather by the waves rolling towards the moon or the Sakvalagala.'

12. It is a very ancient practice to deck domestic animals with ornaments. In the Introduction to the *Sidatsangarà*, p. ccxlv' I have given some beautiful verses which were suggested by a fatal attempt to adorn a cock with an ear-ring. Domesticated monkeys are frequently seen in Ceylon with ear-rings; other animals, such as cattle, have their horns ornamented with brass or silver, and the neck with belts; horses have flowers or ribbons on their trappings; and the ornaments on the Royal Elephant are described in our books as very various. Here the allusion is to an *ear-ring*, which in the historian's opinion, 'acts as an embellishment to set off the beauty of the face.'

13. This needs explanation, and we shall afford it in the language of the Buddhistical Scripture, *Ignorance* was the origin of

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* ..... 'a fiery deluge, fed
With ever-burning sulphur unconsum'd.'
Milton.

† 'The plain, wherein a black bituminous gurge
Boils out from under ground, the mouth of hell.'
Milton.

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existence. On account of *ignorance* merit and demerit were produced; on account of these, *consciousness;* and from it the *nàma* and *rûpa*, the body and the mental powers; and from them the six organs of *senses*,—the eye, the ear, the tongue, the nose, the body, and the mind; and from them desire or *lust*. From lust arose *attachment* to the pleasures of sense; and by their means existence or rather the state of being. Thus lust is the cause of *birth*, and it is this which is stated to have existed before the full formation of man.

14. To 'take refuge' in the *tun-sarana*, is to exercise a devout faith in the triad of Buddhism; in *Buddha*, as the teacher of the doctrines of Salvation,—in the *Dhamma*, which reveals the path to that end,—and in *Sangha*, the ministers of religion who are devoted to propound 'the word.' The formulary of refuge is *Buddhan saranan gachchhàmi,—Dhamman saranan gachchhàmi—Sangan saranan gachchhàmi*,—'I take refuge in Buddha, Dhamma, and the Sangha.' It may be defined as the expression of a resolution to enter into membership in the Buddhist Church. By the expression, 'vatthutta'—*Buddha*, his *dharma*, and his *Priests* are meant. They are sometimes designated the *Ratnattaya*, or 'the three talismen or gems,' (see note 2, cap. xi. § 1.) as being superlatively precious and infallibly efficacious in delivering existence from misery.

15. *Rága of Epilepsy*. 'Ràga' is 'lust,' and it is here compared to *Apasmara*, also called *mrighi*, 'epilepsy' 'swoon,' or 'fit of fainting.' Apasmara is defined in the Medical works as the sudden loss of sense and sight, with convulsive fits preceded by perspiration, absence of mind, dullness of sense, loss of sleep, and palpitation of the heart.

16. The reader is doubtless aware that the deer is very easily deluded by the charms of music, and that he is generally ensnared by this means throughout the East. The word which we have rendered 'snare' is *Usupàta* in the original, and is expressive of the particular mode in which he is hunted by the natives, which is in this wise :—A basket to which several bells are attached, and containing a blazing fire, is carried by a person; upon hearing the tinkling of the bells, and probably upon perceiving the fire, the deer rushes out of the jungle, when the huntsmen who follow the man with the basket,

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easily kill their prey, as in ancient times, by means of arrows, or as at the present day, guns.

17. 'His ample front like some rich lotus shows,
Where sport the bees and fragrant moisture flows.'
Ritu Sanhàra.

18. 'Should he indulge too much in the gratification of the senses, he will die like a deer, which is supposed to be deluded to its destruction by the sweet sounds of the lute which the hunters use; should he indulge in lust, like the Elephant; in sight, like the butterfly on approaching the lamp; in smell, like the bee which is enclosed and crushed in the flower which has attracted by its smell; in taste, like the fish by the fisherman's hook'.—*Dr. Wise's Hindu Medicine, p.* 80.

19. This savors much of the pride of caste, and the arrogance of lineage; or how can disgrace result from honest labor though performed under others? Abstinence from labor altogether, is here recommended as a means whereby the laic may avoid the cares of life, which a married life would necessarily entail, and which would lead to sin. To the doctrine of 'cessation from labor,' which was doubtless early inculcated in the minds of the Hindus and the Sinhalese, as essential to a strictly religious life, or *brahmachariyâ*, and therefore as an inducement to them to enter the priesthood, may be traced that inertness and inactivity, that love of ease and repose, which restrain them from the active labours of life. For a further explanation, see C. B. Asiatic Society's Journal, iii. p. 85.; Introduction to *Kachcháyana's Páli Grammar*, p. 95; and Clough's *Ritual of the Budd. Priesthood*, p. 9.

20. 'A horse, a wife, a *scimitar*—these three were faithful never'.
——*Anvari Suvahali,* p. 564.

21. I have already shown (Introd. p. cli.) how admirable are the lessons of morality inculcated by the founder of Buddhism; and, those who are familiar with his sacred writers, cannot fail to notice the excellence of the *social system* of the Buddhists. No Asiatic nation excels the Sinhalese in domestic and social virtues. Our books abound with graphic pictures of them. Fathers are found doatingly fond of their offspring; children obedient and re-

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spectful to their parents; brothers and sisters, whilst fondly attached to each other, are known to behave towards the elders in the family with the reverence due to their fathers; husbands treat their wives with tender affection and great courtesy; wives are greatly devoted and obedient, and ready to sacrifice themselves on account of their husbands, (see cap. ix. §§ 1—4); boys and men generally evince an attachment to their relations and friends, often to the neglect of their own gains and best interests; daughters and women generally are found virtuous, chaste, and modest. Though such is the harmony which pervades throughout the family circle, and such the beauty of the pictures of domestic and social virtues which we often meet with in real life as in our books; yet that which mars the brilliancy and grandeur of the whole, is the social and moral degradation to which, *in theory*, as stated in the text, woman is reduced. She is not wanting in charms and graces even superior to man; she is not, as amongst the Hindus, the property of her husband; her capacity as regards religion is not a whit inferior to that of man; she is considered eligible to sway a Sceptre, and has exercised Sovereign authority over powerful states; she is not prevented from even entering the priesthood; and she is not deficient in intellect. Yet it is even her superiority in this last respect that is made a handle for the sweeping condemnation, of 'cunning and deceit.' The *Hitopadesa*, says,—'The appetite of women is said to be two-fold, their intellect four-fold, their craftiness six-fold, and their desire eight-fold.' Again, 'neither by gifts, nor by honors, nor by uprightness, nor by devotedness, nor by punishment, nor by precept, are women to be rendered faithful; they are altogether dishonest.' pp. 59, 60. Other Hindu works abound with similar censure. Buddhists, though differing from the Hindus, in many respects, as regards the incapacity attributed to woman by the latter, are nevertheless not less vehement in their denunciation of her. One sentence is sufficient to show the aversion in which, in theory, she was held by Buddha—*mâtu gâmo nàmo pàpo*; 'that which is named *woman* is *sin*.' That is, she is not merely vicious, but *vice itself*. The sage has also stated, 'any woman whatever, if she have a good opportunity, and being enticed thereto, can do it in secret, will do that which is

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wrong.' Judging from the state of ancient society which permitted *Polygamy* and *Poliandry*, it is not at all surprizing that women did generally 'stoop to folly.' But what is the 'enticement' of which the sage speaks? It is not an inherent defect in her soul; nor is it a natural deficiency in the tempers of her mind. It is the result of circumstances; the effect of a defective social system, conjointly with a want of education, and the imposition of social restraints. The first inspired her with wanton feelings and unholy desires; from the second (absence of education) she was left an unthinking being, unable to restrain her passions; and the last engendered feelings of hostility and retaliation, and a desire for the commission of that to prevent which she was deprived of her personal liberty. Nay more; in Asia the very existence of this reproach against the sex has debased her, especially in her own estimation. It is on the other hand, the absence of such a shame that invests women in Europe with dignity and elevation. 'Chivalry (says Pr. Mon. Williams,) and reverence for the fair sex belonged only to European nations of northern origin, who were the first to hold *inesse fœminis sanctum aliquid:* [Tac. Germ. 8.].* Until, indeed, this most mischievous Asiatic notion as to the natural inferiority and baseness of woman be eradicated, and women in the East be made to feel their true position in the society of man, it may well be doubted whether they may be elevated to the state in which we find European women. The education which is imparted at public expense, and by the aid of Missionary operations can alone effect this; and it were well if greater attention were paid to teach the *Female*. By means of *Female education* alone may we hope to ameliorate the social condition of the East, to introduce a greater share of happiness into the dwellings of the native, and to open and clear the path for the effectual dissemination of Christianity. Let us indeed hope for the better; and that the females of this country, at least, will be educated to *see more*, to *hear more*, and *inquire more* than they have been used to; and that ere long, they will be raised not only to a high social position, but, by becoming *Christian*

* *Indian Epic Poetry*, p. 55.

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mothers and *Christian sisters*, they will be enabled more successfully, and indeed with less interruption, to undertake the good work which is now done by the Missionary to disseminate 'the word of God.'

22. The fear here spoken of results, according to the tenets of Buddhism, from that sorrow one feels on quitting this earthly tenement. It is the terror of one who dies 'without God and without hope.' See Introduction, p. clxx; and also the extract from *Nettipakarana* in my *Kachchâyana's Grammar*, p. 110.

23. I believe Law or Justice is in the same way described as with a long arm,—to indicate success; *e. g.* 'the grasp of the law.'

24. *Dhamma* may be interpreted as 'the peculiar or prescribed practice or duty,' 'the law,' 'the study and practice of religion', 'virtue,' 'moral and religious merits.'

25. When men look disdainfully or with pride, the eyes assume a form of distortion or stare which resembles the mode in which the Elephant by moving his head directs his vision. It is this which is here expressed by *gaja ni mílita mubbhà va yatáv a* 'The-proud-wink-of-the-Elephant.' That the Elephant has a peculiarity in the mode in which he exercises his visual organ is undoubted, but its cause is not satisfactorily known. Sir James E. Tennent, in his valuable work on Ceylon, ii. p. 287, remarks, 'all the Elephant hunters and natives to whom I have spoken on the subject, concur in opinion that his *range of vision is circumscribed*, and that he relies more on his ear and his sense of smell, than on his sight, which is liable to be obstructed by the dense foliage; besides which, from the formation of his neck *he is incapable of directing the range of his eye* much above the level of his head.' Buddhist writers have also noticed a peculiarity in the formation of the Elephant's neck, which they state consists of a single bone,—a circumstance that renders it necessary to turn round to look at any object not directly before the Elephant's eyes. See *Parinibban Suttan*, lib. iii. and its Commentary.

26. *Anjalà* means the raising of both the hands to the forehead preparatory to a respectful salutation. See my Essay on 'Terms of Address and Salutation,' in the Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1856-8, p. 261.

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27. *Sàdhu* is an acclamation of approval. It is a word which Buddhists use to express their assent to the doctrines which are proclaimed to them, and from its original signification (from *siddha* 'accomplished') and the use to which it is applied, it may be translated 'Amen'.

28. *Kanchukitena*, equal to the Sanskrit, *Kantakita (pulakáchitena* or *pulakánchitena,)* 'horripilation' or 'the bristling of the hair of the body' which is considered by some as being caused by only terror or disease. See cap. vi. § 5. But here as in several Hindu writings, it is given as an indication of exquisite delight or exceedingly great joy. Thus, in *Vikramorvasi; mama angam sa-roma kantakam ankuritam*, 'my body with the sprouts of thorny hair.'

29. This word requires rather a lengthy explanation. It means the *paths* (Magga) and acquisitions (phala) necessary to attain *Nibban*. There are four *paths*, and four *phalas*. The paths are; 1st *Sowàna*, that state in which man is free from heresy and schism; has subdued the evil propensities which he has matured in himself in the course of existence, and has acquired a knowledge of the true religion. 2nd, *Sakradàgama*, the attainment of that state, nearly free from lust, and after anger and ignorance, which existence will produce but one more birth. 3rd, *Anágami*, the status of one free from birth in the *Kàma lokas* or the sensual worlds. 4th, *Aryhat*,—that highly sanctified state of one who has destroyed *all* the evil propensities of his nature, and has become effulgent with the light of wisdom. The four *phalas* are the respective acquisitions of those who enter the four paths. Those who enter the first become acquainted with the thoughts of any being in the same path; those who enter the second, with the thoughts of the two first class; those who enter the third, with the thoughts of the three first classes; and those who enter the fourth, with the thoughts of all beings. 'These' says a Buddhist writer, 'with the ultimate consummation of *Nirwàna*, are the nine supermundane dispensations of the Religion of Buddha.' See *Jinapáwachanàlankàra*, in the Ceylon Almanac for 1835, pp. 256, 257.

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CHAPTER THIRD.

1. Some time afterwards his uncle, the chief *thera*, who was highly pleased with the prince's good conduct,[1] wishing (for some wise purpose) to conceal his name *Sanghabodhi*, changed it to *Dhammika** 'the religious.'

2. Believing (moreover) the (words) prediction of the fortune-tellers, he dissuaded his nephew from taking holy-orders,[2] which he had earnestly sought; and, thinking 'that Anurâdhapura would be a better suited and less dangerous (place) for the prince's abode than (this) Mahiyangana; that it would be a (more) appropriate locality for promotion (to be recompensed) according to his (merit) deserts; and that he might (there) acquire an abundance of merit

* *Dhammikoti—iti*;—'thus,' 'so.' In reciting the words, or describing the sentiments, of another, or in expressing the thoughts of the writer himself, he invariably gives the very words of that other, or of himself. When such is the case, *iti* is generally placed last in the sentence, and it may be conveyed in translation, as we have often done, by simply inverted commas, or by the addition of the words, 'thinking' or 'saying.' As remarked by Prof. Williams in his Sanskrit Grammar, p. 380, 'all the languages of the East are averse to the use of the *obliqua oratio*.'

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by his religious attentions to (the Establishment connected with) the great *thúpa*,[3] set out with the prince to Anuràdhapura.[4] (In their journey) two other princes of the Lambakanna* race, (viz.,) Sanghatissa and Gothàbhaya, associates of Sanghabodhi from his *infancy*,[5] accompanied him. The high priest who took the three princes, first entered the city of Anuràdhapura. The last (Sanghatissa,) who was the eldest, Sanghabodhi, who was the younger (middle aged), and Gothábhaya the youngest, in following the high priest in the order of their respective ages,[6] walked along the *Embankment*[7] of the *Tissa Tank*.

3. A certain blind sage, who was sitting (at this time) in the hall of the bridge, hearing the tread of the three princes, and noticing its (peculiar sound,) predicted to those who were with him: 'these three princes are destined to be kings in the island of the Sinhalese.'† Gothàbhaya, who was in the rear, hearing this remark, went up (to the blind man) unknown to his fellow travellers, and asked him: 'which (of them) will reign the longest, and whose dynasty will endure (the firmest)?' The blind man replied: '(that of) the last (of him who went in the rear).' Highly gratified and elated (at the result of his inquiry), Gothàbhaya

* Sir Em. Tennent, in his invaluable Map given in his *History of Ceylon*, i. p. 318., assigns to this race the south-east of Ceylon. But from various passages in this work and in others, I apprehend it will be more correct to place their seat farther to the north-west, or near Mahiyangana. See Cap. i. § 9.

† Many of the particulars in this account are fully confirmed by the *Mahavansa*, see p. 228.

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soon retraced (his steps), and joined his companions; and, being a person of sharp intellect, and very *reserved*,[8] did not communicate (to others the information which he had received). Having entered the Capital, all the three princes took their lodgings in an appropriate place.

4. The youngest (Goṭhàbhaya), thinking, 'these two persons being of *short duration** may not live long, even if they be established in the Sovereignty; I will myself, therefore, procure for them the kingdom (first),'—devised plans accordingly; and frequently conversed with them with a view to their advancement.[9] The eldest (Sanghatissa) highly pleased with his (friend's disinterested) conduct, and (therefore) fully acting up to his advice, (saw) visited the Sovereign, by whom he was graciously received. Having been appointed to the first offices of the Kingdom he was soon after established in the Sovereign's Court.[10] The ruling Prince of the time, who was a Khattiya named *Wijaya*,[11] being highly pleased with his new officer's conduct, made him chief over all the affairs of the State, and appointed him *General*.[12]

5. But Prince *Dhammika* had no desire for the throne; and therefore did not seek its pleasures. On account, however, of the admonition of the *Mahá thera*, he simply entered the palace, and worked at the proper times assigned for royal services. In the evening he usually left the palace with others, and went to his abode at the Temple of the *Mahà thera*, where, not disregarding

* *i. e.*, 'Not being destined to live long.'

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his usual religious course of life, he devoted his time to good works such as the affairs connected with (the establishment of *Ruanveli*,) the great *thúpa*, and to the nourishment of the sick (therein).

6. About this time Prince Sanghatissa assumed authority over the city and over the entire kingdom; and, having one day, seized an opportunity, and procured through Goṭhàbhaya's instrumentality[13] the death of the reigning monarch, at his own *inner palace*,* ascended the throne.

END OF THE THIRD CHAPTER

ON (HIS) ENTRANCE TO ANURADHAPURA.

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* See Introduction, p. xv.

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NOTES AND ANNOTATIONS.

1. *Samàcharanena*—'good manners,' 'etiquette,' 'approved mode of living,'—'living without departing from a line of prescribed duty.'

2. *Pabajjetukámam'pi*—'desire of being an ascetic,' 'eagerness to embrace ascetism.'

3. The *Ruanveli*, the *thûpa* of 'the golden dust,' is here meant. It is by far the most celebrated conical building. 'This enormous pile, the descriptions of which occupy so large a space in the *Mahawansa*,' (says Sir E. Tennent), 'was begun by Dutugemini one hundred and sixty years before the Christian era, and completed by his successor, after having occupied almost twenty years in its erection. Its original outline was destroyed by the Malabars, A. D. 1214, but it is still a little mountain of masonry, upwards of one hundred and fifty feet high, overgrown with jungle and trees.' —*History of Ceylon*, vol. ii. pp. 619—20.

4. *Anurádhapura*,—the most celebrated city in Ceylon, which remained its capital for more than twelve centuries, except during the short reign of 'a parricide and usurper, who transferred the insignia of royalty to the impregnable rock fort of *Segiri*.' It was built 437, B. C., about a century after the settlement of Wijaya in the city of *Tammana* (Sinhalese), or Tambapanna (Páli), nearly ten miles from Putlam, viâ Setterivelli, and within half-a-mile from *Mi Oya*.—See a very interesting article on "The Site and Ruins" of this city by the late Mr. Simon Casie Chetty, in the *Journal of the R. Asiatic Society of Great Britain*, vol. vi. p. 242.

5. *Pansukilanato pattáya*,—'from the season of sporting with sand'—which is a juvenile amusement, and frequently used to express *infancy*.

6. There is perhaps no class of people in the East, who are more rigid than the Sinhalese in the observance of what is elsewhere, (see note i. to cap. iii.) described as *Samâchára* 'approved manners,' 'etiquette.' In travelling together, as stated in the text, the aged always take precedence of their juniors. So likewise in other matters, *e. g.*, in eating, sitting in company, etc. For further particulars, see cap, viii. § 4; also note 13 to cap. xi. § 4.

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7. From the context I gather that this was a wooden bridge covered with a shed, like many an old bridge in Ceylon. Mr. Turnour has rendered it 'embankment.'—See *Mahawansa*, p. 228.

8. *Gambhìra*—'profound,' here used to denote 'the *depth* of cunning' of the individual, by which he has suppressed all indications of mental emotions. It may be also interpreted to mean 'suppressed' or 'non-communicative' or 'reserved.'

9. Lit.—'exhibiting to them plans for the acquirement of the kingdom by them.'

10. *Rája-vallabho*,—'a friend of royalty,' 'a royal companion.'

11. The Prince here indicated was Wijaya ii., who ascended the throne in 241 A. D., and reigned but one year.

12. *Senâ pati*—'the chief of the forces,'—answering to the 'Commander of the Forces' of the English. This is an officer who under the Sinhalese Government was entrusted with great authority, and who frequently exercised the powers of an *Upa-rája* or Sub-king.

13. From the account given in the *Mahawansa*, and which I have reviewed in the Introduction, see p. xv., it would seem that all the three Princes conspired together, and put Wijaya to death, and that two of them raised the third to the throne,—facts which are inconsistent with the general character assigned to Sanghabodhi in the work before us, as well as in *Mahawansa* and *Dipávansa*.

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CHAPTER FOURTH.

1. Thereupon Goṭhàbhaya installed Prince Dhammika, much against his will, in the office of *Senàpati*, 'Commander of the Forces;' and he himself assumed that of *Treasurer*,* with a view to his future advancement. Sanghatissa (who thus became) king, committed acts, productive of both merit and demerit. At the season of *Jambu*[1] he frequently visited the *Eastern Province*† with his suite, ministers and *royal consorts*,[2] and ate Jambu fruits. The inhabitants (of this province), unable to bear the *inconveniences* of (oppressed by) these royal visits, infused poison in the fruits which the king intended to take; and from its effects Sanghatissa died on the spot.

2. Prince Goṭhàbhaya, remembering the prediction of the blind sage, and reflecting that, 'by the appointment (of his comrade) according to the *(pre-determined)*‡ order, he would be enabled to reign (the longest)', joined the ministers and the people in offering the

* This appears to have been an office next in gradation to that of *Senâpati*. The original expression is *Bhandágárika*.

† See remarks hereon in the Introduction, p. xxviii.

‡ 'The order in which it was predicted they would succeed to the throne.'

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kingdom to Prince Sanghabodhi. But he, pondering upon the immense misery which the great *Bhodhisat*, when *Temiya*[3] endured in view of the ills (produced from the pleasures) of Princedoms, declined[4] the pressing invitation. Gothàbhaya next gathered all the people of the villages and cities of the kingdom, and conjointly with them (attempted to) persuade Sanghabodhi in different ways to accept the throne, but without success. Thereupon, all the people* with the ministers repaired to the great Temple, and having assembled the priesthood, repeated in their presence their application to prince Sanghabodhi. Upon which he fell prostrate before the priests, and after the usual salutation, placed himself at a respectful distance;[5] and with their permission addressed (the people on the evils of princedoms and powers,[6] as follows:

3. '(Friends,) the prosperity of a kingdom, in proportion to its grandeur, is like a camphor light which is stained with its own grime, and only raises up a deal of matter for action. Indeed,† a kingdom is like unto a stream that *waters* (grows) the poisonous weeds (creepers) of lusts. Its (allurements) are like the melodious song of the hunter (in the ears of) the *animals* [deer][7] of *sensual pleasures*.† In (its tendency to corrupt) the morals,‡ it (acts like) a volume of

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* Another instance of monster meetings, see Introduction p. lxvii.

† *Tathàhi*—an expression of strong affirmation of what precedes 'it is so,' 'indeed,' 'yes.'

† Lit. 'senses.'

‡ Lit. 'good conduct.'

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smoke on a fine painting. It is a fit* (which nourishes) the slumbers of folly, a screen which obscures the eyes of wisdom, a standard (hoisted up for the triumphs) of the great multitudes of sin, a river (which rears) the crocodiles of hasty passions, a tavern for (the enjoyment of) the wench† of heathenism,‡ a hall for merriment to the dancers of prosperity, a cave (that is occupied by) the serpent of enmity, a rod which drives away all righteousness, an unseasonable rainy cloud that is displeasing to the swans[8] of estimable virtues, a dramatic prologue (in its tendency) to promote hypocrisy, a *banana*§ (which serves as delightful food) for the elephant of lust, a (delusion like a) chaplet of torments[9] for virtuous deeds, and the (very) mouth of *Rahu*[10] (that swallows up) the moon-like truths of salvation.‖ I know not a single person, who, on his elevation to the throne, has not changed his innate principles.¶

4. 'Nor is this all.** Even at the very inauguration of a king, his peculiar merits†† vanish away as if

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* *Vibbhámasevya*—'fainting fit.'

† Lit. 'female.'

‡ *Michchhàditthi*, see note 3 to Cap. xi. § i.

§ Lit.—'the trunk of the Plantain.'

‖ Lit. 'the *dhamma*.'

¶ Nihitan passámi yohi aparichitàyápi etâya nibbharan upagûlho na vippaladdho—'I do not see one, who, having been fondly embraced by even the unaccustomed (pleasures of) royalty, has not been deceived.'

** Lit. Apicha—'yet another.'

†† *dakkhiññan*—'the quality which deserves esteem, commendation or reward.'

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washed off by the water of consecration; his heart is stained as it were by the smoke of the sacrificial fire; his patience and forbearance are driven away as if swept off by the pointed *Kusa* grass of the *Purohita;* his perception of decrepitude is dimmed. as if bound (blinded) with the (regal) head-dress; his views on death (hereafter) are screened as it were by the state-canopy; his love of truth is blown afar as if fanned away by the *châmara;* and his good principles are destroyed (driven) as it were by means of a ferule.[11]

5. 'Some, intoxicated with the regal prosperity of *wine*,* receive (the artful representations of) knaves, who (abound) like cranes[12] in the pond of society, and who live for their own gain like vultures for flesh[13]—representations which declare, that '*gambling*[14] is a pastime,' 'to court the favors of others' wives[15] is gallantry,' 'deer hunting[16] is the best exercise,' 'drinking is a convention of society,' 'procrastination[17] at all times is heroism,' 'to discard one's wife is a virtue,'[18] 'to treat with contempt the precepts of tutors is independence,'[19] 'to worship the (heathen) gods[20] is to seek happiness,' 'to patronize dancing, music[21] and harlots, is the characteristic of a man of taste,' 'to endure the disgrace of discomfiture† is virtuous forbearance,' to follow one's own free inclination is the act of a *pandit*,‡ 'the complimentary

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* *Madirá*—'wine,' 'liquor,' 'spirits,' or 'arrack.'

† *Parabhava*—'disappointment,' 'discomfiture'—'the feeling engendered in the mind upon ill-luck, at gambling.'

‡ *Pandichcha*,—'a pandit,' 'a learned man,' 'a discreet and wise person,'—See note 3 to Cap. ii. § 1.

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praises of courtiers is (the evidence of) world-wide renown,' 'vacilation (in one's conduct) is (the result of an) energetic mind,' and 'the non-discernment (of the merits of others) is impartiality.'

'Bewildered by the false adulations and undeserved compliments (with which they are extolled to the skies) by those who are accomplished in the art of flattery, kings without reflection, and by reason of their vanity, mistake evil for good traits of character.[22] They who partake of man's very nature, (thus) elated by pride, (first) consider themselves as being above* the level of mankind, (then) as having acquired half of divine nature,† and (finally) as being altogether gods.‡ (By and bye) they assume the attributes and acts of the gods; and the consequence is (alas!) condign disgrace§ in public estimation! (Yet) they are highly rejoiced at the disguises‖ of men who act conformably to their false notions.

6. 'Moreover, fancying that they enjoy the fame which arises from their supposed elevation to a divine state, they imagine that they have acquired an additional pair of arms,[23] and believe that their forehead conceals a (third) eye beneath the skin. Filled with

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* *Amànusa*—'non-human,' 'preternatural.'

† *Dibbansàvatinna*—'half-godly-nature descended (on earth).'

‡ I have taken the liberty of transposing the members of this clause.

§ Lit.—'Arrive at the derision of all people,' *i. e.* according to the English phrase, 'become a laughing stock to the people.'

‖ *Atta vilambanancha*—'soul deception,' 'supernatural assumption of a borrowed form.'

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pride through false conceit, they discard (their adoring) deities, abstain from maintaining ascetics and *Brahamans*;[24] withhold the respect due to the venerable; discontinue even the company of tutors; disgrace religious mendicants* as revellers in sensuous pleasures under the cloak of a yellow robe; reject the advice of elders, treating it as the vain talk of men sinking under (the infirmities of) decrepitude; calumniate the counsel of ministers, thinking it a reflection upon their own wisdom; and are indignant at those who are of sincere speech.[25] Such are the many evils of which a princedom is the cause, and on their account (I consent not) I cannot comply with your request.'

7. Thereafter [when the Prince had concluded his address,] the priests, being kindly requested by the populace, placed themselves before the Prince, and addressed him as follows:

'Most fortunate [Prince!] When the leech comes in contact with the breast,† it gives pain by its sharp bite, and draws out the very blood;‡ but (not so with) an infant. [He] by sucking with the tender point of his mouth, produces a pleasing sensation in the mother, and draws only milk. In like manner the ignorant unsteady man, who attains to the supremacy of a kingdom, accumulates nothing but demerit; whereas a wise and steady man, impressed with a just

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* *Yatti*—See note 31 to Cap. i. § 10.

† Lit.—'Nipples of the breast.'

‡ Lit.—'Nothing but blood.'

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sense of the frailty* of human life, and the instability of (earthly) wealth, only becomes a practiser of the ten virtuous[26] deeds; and, abounding in such highly profitable acts, acquires much merit. Thou, who art pre-eminent in virtue,† and who sustainest the status of a *Bhodisatta*,‡ hast indeed found a suitable place for similar virtuous deeds. Nourish (then, we admonish thee,) the *world*[27] with justice and rectitude; uphold the religion of Buddha; carry the *Dàna pàramità*[28] to its utmost limits; next assume the (austerity of) holy seclusion;[29] and preserve inviolate the *Bodhi-pakkhiya dhamma*.'[30]

8. Unable to reject the admonitions of the priesthood, this magnanimous and illustrious personage consented (to take up the reins of Government.)

Thereupon, the people, with the consent of the priesthood, inaugurated him under one *Chatta*§ 'for the entire island of Sinhala, and proclaimed him king DHAMMIKA SIRI SANGHABODHI; and they made Goṭhàbhaya General of the Forces.

9. The king's (career was marked by) acts of charity,‖ patience, non-procrastination, and a devotionto the *Sìla*;[31] and, having (exhibited) a mild deportment, with good intentions towards all beings, he greatly dis-

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* *àyu sankhárassa*—'the real extent of age,'—'its duration,' 'the condition of existence.'

† *Katádhikáro*—'who hast the merit of good action.'

‡ See note 3 to Cap. i. § 3.

§ *Chatta*—See note 25 to Cap. i. § 9.

‖ *Dánan*—'alms-giving,' 'gifts,' 'charity.'

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tinguished himself* as the very personification of the (*Dhamma*) religious ordinances.

10. Having learnt the real nature of man, and being desirous of imbuing† his subjects with (Dhamma) a holy life conformably to *Pàdhana*,‡ he himself led the same course.§

END OF THE FOURTH CHAPTER

ON INAUGURATION.

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* *Virochi*—'illumined.'

† *Nidhatu*—'treasuring,' 'enriching.'

‡ By *Chattàro sammak padhàna*—are meant 'the four good exertions.' For an explanation of the same, see note 30 infra.

§ Lit.—'Devoted himself to Dhamma or religion.'

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NOTES AND ANNOTATIONS.

1. *Jambu*—'the rose-apple,' *Eugenia Jambu*. The tree after which Asia or *Jambudìpa* has been named by Asiatics. They seem to be very partial to its fruit. The commentator of the *Mahavansa* states that it is 'a fruit peculiarly fit for princes,' and the writer of *Vikrama Urvasi*, p. 74, describes it as,

> 'The *royal* rose-apple's newly ripened fruit.'

Frequent allusions to it are also found in Oriental works. Thus, in the *Megha Duta*.

> 'Arduous she winds, and next through beds of flowers,
> She wins her way, and washes Jambu bowers.'

2. *Orodha=antapura*, (see cap. vii. § 13, note 16,) the inner suite of apartments within the private precincts of the palace, set apart for the king's concubines. Here that very word is used to denote 'courtesans,' or 'the harem.'

3. Since no notice of this *Játaka* is to be found in any of the European works on Buddhism that I have seen, the following abridged translation of the same may not prove uninteresting:

'There was a king in Baranes, whose name was *Kàsi*. He had 16,000 wives besides a Queen-consort named *Chandra*. They were all childless. Seeing which, the citizens* met together, and expressed their alarm at the absence of an heir-apparent to the throne. The king thereupon directed his wives and the Queen to pray for a son. The former did so, and worshipped their adoring deities such as the Sun, Moon, etc.; and the latter, who was a religious person, took upon herself the vows of the *Síla*, and made a *Sachcha kiriya*,† when Indra caused a deva to be conceived in

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* That is, 'the whole city,' 'all the citizens.'—This is an additional instance of the 'monster meetings' mentioned in the Introduction, p. lxvii.

† *Sachcha-kiriya*—'truth-act,' 'declaration of truth.' An *act*, *i. e.* a declaration by a person of his having invariably performed a certain re-

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Chandra's womb. In processs of time she gave birth to a son. The King, overwhelmed with joy, named him *Temiya;* and when the boy was about a month old, he had him on the throne whilst administering justice. On this day, some culprits were arraigned before the king, and upon investigation he sentenced that a thousand lashes should be inflicted upon one; that a second should be cast into prison; that a third should be impaled; and that a fourth should be executed. The babe, hearing the pains and penalties thus pronounced, and pondering on what had happened to himself in a previous existence, was terrified at the thought of the demerit which the infliction of punishments was the result to one who administered a kingdom. He then resolved to reject the throne which he should be bound to accept on his father's demise. To bring about this end he was advised by his titular deity to pretend to be lame, deaf, and dumb, which advice he adopted, and (as the sequel will show) with success.

'The parents, however, suspecting the fraud, tried the prince in various ways. They starved him, but he did not cry. They tempted him with cakes, fruits, toys, and delicacies; but he noticed them not. They frightened him by putting him amongst furious elephants and frightful serpents; but he was not dismayed. They charmed him with dancing and music; but he did not care for them They terrified him by sending the public executioner with threats; but he regarded him not. They watched him in the dark, after daubing him with honey and leaving him in dirt and excrement; but he moved not a limb. They employed people to shame him out of his disguise; but he heeded them not. They exposed him to a fire until his body was well nigh blistered from its effects; but he betrayed no symptoms of pain. They severally begged and implored of him to abandon the deception which he practised; but

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ligious duty, or moral obligation—(*e g.* 'I have always given alms when solicited, or 'I have always been chaste,')—with a view to obtain a particular desire, whether natural or supernatural. This *declaration* must be 'the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth.' The 'declaration of truth' or *Sachcha kiriya*, thus made, the declarer concludes with *etena sachcha vàdena*—'by (the merit of) the true declaration,' may my desire for a son be realized.'

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he did not listen to them. Lastly, they sent the most charming of women into his apartment; but he was not allured by their wiles.

'When their efforts had been thus baffled during sixteen long years, they sent for the Astrologers, who, at the birth of the prince, had predicted his good fortune, and told them of its non-realization. The Brahmans replied, that loth to hurt the feelings of the king they did not reveal the fact; and that it was desirable for reasons personal to the king to destroy the prince. Accordingly, the king resolved upon executing Temiya; on hearing which, the mother, overcome by grief, implored the king to desist at least for a time; and obtained for her son the sovereignty of Baranes* for a period of six days. During this period also the mother exerted her utmost to persuade Temiya to give up his deception; but with no better success than before. The king, thereupon, decreed that Temiya should be executed.

'Accordingly, the executioner drove him out of the palace for execution; but by the power of the gods he is said to have continued his drive heedlessly for 12 *gows*,† when, perceiving some brushwood, he alighted from his cart, bundled up the prince's clothes, and began to prepare a pit. At this time Temiya rose from his disguise, and finding that he still had the free use of his limbs to resist the executioner, if necessary, went up to him and inquired what he was about? He, not deigning to look up, replied that he was digging a pit to bury the lame son of the king of Kàsi. Whereupon, Temiya, who had just before been superbly clothed by the power of Indra, announced that he himself was that identical prince, and by an argument to the effect that 'he, the executioner would be guilty of ingratitude by killing the son of his protector,'—dissuaded him from executing his orders. The executioner amazed, begged of the prince to return to his parents, but he would not, and expressed his determination to embrace ascetism. The former inquired the cause of the deception he had practised

* Modern Benares.

† A 'gow' is equal to four English miles.

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for sixteen years, and of his present determination to reject the sovereignty to which he was entitled. The latter replied, that 'in a former birth he was the king of that very country for twenty years; that owing to the sins which he had committed (in the discharge of his duty) he had to endure the torments of hell for 80,000 years; and that the dread of those sufferings induced him to practise the fraud he had committed.' Whereupon, the Prince dismissed the executioner, and embraced ascetism. On his return the executioner reported the above facts to the Sovereign, who, thereupon repaired to the jungle to meet his son and to consecrate him King. But the son, declining the offer, discoursed to his father on the evils of kingdoms, and the father himself was induced to discard his throne and embrace ascetism. Hearing which three other Sovereigns of the neighbouring kingdoms likewise became converts to the doctrines of Temiya, and became jungle ascetics.'

Gotama concludes this tale by declaring that *Temiya*, in the birth above related, was himself.

5. *Eka-mantan nisìditvà.*—Lit. 'having stood on a side.' When a person makes a humble salutation, he is to approach the party saluted, and then make one *step back*, and remain on a *side* before addressing him. This is what we have rendered as 'taking his respectful distance.' It is a set phrase in the Buddhist works. See Introduction to *Kachchàyana's Grammar*, p. 92.

6. 'An empire in his balance weighs a grain.'—*Young.*

7. 'The bugle horn fills thy wild spirit with glee.'—*Wilson.*

8. This is the *Ibis religiosa*, which is called the Abu Hansa by the Arabs of Egypt, or the 'the king of birds' by various eastern nations. As the pea-fowl is said to delight in wet weather, (see note to cap. vii. § 7,) the *Hansa*, which I have translated 'Swan,' is supposed to detest it. Thus,

> 'A heavy storm impends, the gathering gloom
> Delights the pea fowl, and distracts the swan.'
> —*Mritcha Katika*, act v. § 1.

9. *Vajja màlà*—'garland of torments,' or 'a chain of torments.' It was an ancient practice of the Sinhalese, as well as of other na-

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tions, to place chaplets of flowers on the head of a criminal before execution. Thus, in the *Malati Madhava*, the Hindu poet speaks of

——'Crimson garb and garland, like a victim.'

Again, in the *Kusa jàtaka*, of which the following is a poetical version by an anonymous but a promising Oriental Scholar:

'By royal MADU's high command, the Torturer came along:
Like to a dreadful monster he, huge, terrible, and strong!
In red apparel was he dight [a bloody, purple red,]
And clustering flowers of scarlet bloom his body garlanded.'
Stanza, dlviii.

The Greeks also adorned the culprit with crowns and garlands. Thus Macaria, when she offered 'herself as a victim to secure the triumphs of the Athenians,' exclaims,

'To the scene of death ——
Conduct, with garlands crown me.'

The flower used in Ceylon for this purpose was chiefly the red *Hibiscus* or *rosa sinensis*, called by the Sinhalese *vada mal* or 'the flower of punishment.' Taken in this sense, the metaphor in the text may imply that a 'princedom is a sham for virtuous *deeds*, as a garland for the culprit who is executed.' It is however supposed by some that the comparison is intended to imply the unceasing amount (like a chain) of trouble or vexation which served to abandon virtuous conduct. But, I am by no means certain that I have caught the exact meaning of this metaphor.*

10. *Ràhu* is the ascending node, which in the mythology of the Hindus is personified as the head of the Dragon. According to the traditions of the Hindus, he was an *Asura* or demi-god, who at the churning of the ocean stole a draught of ambrosia, an offence which the sun and moon detected, and for which Vishnu decapitated him. It is thence supposed that 'the demon is inimical to the sun and moon, and seizes upon those two luminaries. For the Hindu fable respecting Ràhu see *Wilson's Vishnu Purâna*, p. 78; also

* See further remarks hereon in Appendix A.

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Sûrya Siddhànta, cap. ii. 8. These notions are also entertained by the Buddhists, and it is stated by them that upon an injunction from Gotama, Ràhu 'released the moon, lest his head should split into seven.' See translation of the *Fàritta* by the Rev. D. J. Gogerly, in the *Ceylon Friend*, ii. p. 228. Yet the recurrence of eclipses from the very date of the inhibition has not been accounted for.

11. The above comparisons are all taken from the rites adopted at the ceremony of *abhíseka*, or 'the consecration of kings:

E. G.—The water of consecration in the *Mangala Kalasa*, 'the glorious pot,' one set apart for that purpose, was the chief ingredient in the ceremony. Then comes the *Aggihitta dùma*, 'the smoke of the sacrificial fire which stains the object upon which it alights.' Thus, in Pr. William's *Sakuntalà*, p. 19, 'the tint of those trees which are bright with the fresh sprouts is partially obscured by the rising of the smoke of the clarified butter burnt in oblations'—*bhinno ràgah hisalaya ruchàm àjya dhùmod'gamena*. *Purohita*, or an officiating Priest (always Brahman,) so called from the circumstance of his being the family priest, was an important personage in the ceremony. He sat upon ground strewed with the long and sharp-pointed Kusa, the *Poa Cynosuroides*, or the sacred grass of the Hindus; and, to purify himself, rubbed the grass with both his hands. To the purifying qualities of the leaf which were great, (see *Manu* ii. 43, 182, and *Vishnu Purâna*, p. 106,) is the allusion in the text. The regal head dress here referred to, is a band round the head, with which a king was invested, as a mark of that high office to which he was installed; and the parasol of state is the *chatta* or the '*white canopy*,' or the throne under which the ceremony takes place, by an allusion to the setting up of which (as *ante* cap. i. note 25), Eastern writers metaphorically convey the inauguration of a king as 'sole Monarch' or emperor of several principalities. It only remains to describe the *Châmara*. It is a chowrie, the tail of the *Yak* of Tartary, or *Bos grunniens*, used to whisk off flies, and which is one of the five insignia or emblems of Princely rank.—See *Meghadùta* verse 361.

The reference here is to the rite of waving such a *chowrie* over the head of a Prince, accompanied by the proclamation of his name,

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at the time of his inauguration. Thus, Kâlidàs in his *Umà*, a legend of the Himalaya, fancies in his poetic flights, that a *Yak* flaps his hairy tail to proclaim the honors of that 'king of Mountains:'

> 'For him the large Yàks in his cold plains that bide,
> Which here and there playful, their tails bushy pride,
> And even mere flapping those fans of long hair
> Which borrow'd moonbeams have made splendid and fair—
> Proclaims at each stroke (what our flapping men sing)
> His title of honor—'The dread mountain king.'
>
> —*Umà*, stanza 13.

12. 'Not less their number than the embodied Cranes
Or milk white swans in Asia's watery plains.'—*Pope.*

13. *Gijjhehi*,—*lit.* 'gluttonous,' and thence its application to vultures.

14. *Dùtan*,—'dice' (rendered 'gambling') seems to be an amusement of Eastern Kings. One of Asoka's inscriptions, the viii at *Girnar*, states that 'in ancient times, festivals for the amusements of sovereigns consisted of gambling, hunting the deer, and other exhilarating pleasures.'—See *Bengal A. Journal*, vii. p. 256.

15. *Paradàrábhi'gamanan*,—'adulterous intercourse.' It is in Buddhism, which follows the precepts of Brahamanism, a *malum prohibitum*, not a *malum in se*. It is confined to the *unauthorized* intercourse with women who are under the protection of others. Thus, according to Manu, 'there is no turpitude in caressing women, for to such enjoyments men are naturally prone, (v. § 56); but, 'no man shall converse, after he has been forbidden, with the wives of others. (viii. § 361.)

With all the laxity of morals, in this respect, (see cap. ii. § 7. note 21.) amongst the Eastern nations, abstinence from intercourse with *others' wives* is a requirement rigidly enforced. Thus, in the *Sakuntalà*, p. 212, 'The moon awakes (expands) the night-lotuses only, the sun the day-lotuses only, for the character (feelings) of those who control their passions recoils (turns away with abhorrence) from embracing the wife of another.' It is stated by Professor H. Wilson, in his valuable Essay on the Dramatic System of the Hindus,—'To the honor of the Hindu drama it may be said that

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the *Parakàya*, or she who is the wife of another person, is never to be made the object of a dramatic intrigue, a prohibition that would have sadly cooled the imagination and curbed the wit of Dryden and Congreve.'* The respect in which the virtuous of old held another's wife, was so great that to have touched but the hem of her garment was a violation of her person. From the *Rãja Tarangini* we learn that a present of a splendid vesture to the Queen of Cashmir, with the seal of its donor, a King of Ceylon, led to a war. So likewise to *speak* to a married woman in a garden, or at the confluence of rivers, was a crime.—*Manu*, viii. § 356.

It was indeed in accordance with this law, which still exercises an influence over the feelings and acts of the Sinhalese, that we find the following judgment of an English Court. See Minutes of the Pantura Magistrate's Court, 15th March 1815: ('Sentenced that Dìnetti Carolis Silva do pay a fine of rd. 10, for that he allowed a married woman to remain in his garden without the foreknowledge of her husband, or that of the Police Vidahn of the village, and that his son Dìnetti Simon Silva do bail himself in rd. 25, and two securities for rd. 25, that he shall neither go to the complainer's wife, *nor talk with her*.'

16. *Migavan=Mrigayàn*, in Sanskrit 'deer hunting.' The Eastern notion is that this, like the others above enumerated, is a *vice*. Thus in *Manu*, 'drinking, dice, women, and *hunting* are the most pernicious which love of pleasure occasions,' (vii. § 50.) It is here represented in the speech of artful men as a good recreation. So in the *Sakuntalâ*, p. 71.—*Mithyaiva vyasanan vadanti mrigayàm idrigvinodah kutah.* 'Falsely indeed do they call hunting a vice; where is there such a recreation as this?'

17. 'Be wise to-day 'tis madness to defer:
Next day the fatal precedent will plead;
Thus on till wisdom is pushed out of life
Procrastination is the thief of time;
Year after year it steals, till all are fled.'
——*Young.*

* Hindu Theatre, vol. i. p. xlv.

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18. Though divorce was permitted by the laws of the East, it was nevertheless, as by the writer here, generally regarded as being contrary to *avyasana*, 'good morals' or 'virtue'—that which is opposed to *vyasana*, 'vice.' *Manu* states—'Neither by sale nor desertion can a wife be released from her husband: thus we fully acknowledge the law enacted of old by the Lord of creatures. Once is the protection of an inheritance made; once is a damsel given in marriage; and once does a man say 'I give;'—these three are by good men done once for all (and irrevocably.') ix. §§ 46 7. The several causes which justify a divorce, are enumerated in *Manu*, see ix. § 86, *et seq.*

19. *Aparappachchayane yatta miti.* This is a doubtful expression: it is probably *aparappachchayatiti*, 'independence.'

20. *Aditi*, the Brahman word for 'the Mother of the gods,' who is not unfrequently invoked in a general prayer to the gods, and thence *aditi* as *a patronymic* is used to mean 'sons of Aditi.' The worship of the heathen gods is clearly opposed to the tenets of Buddhism. It is not even recognized by the writer in the text.

Orthodox Buddhists well read in the doctrines of the great sage, do not consider the worship of the devas as being sanctioned by him who disclaimed to himself and all the devas any power over man's soul. Yet the Buddhists are every where idol worshippers. It is clearly traceable to the Hindu mind, which has absorbed itself into the Buddhistical. 'By offering to the gods and manes, the human body is rendered fit for a divine state,'—*Manu*, ii. § 28. Buddhism, however, acknowledges the existence of some of the Hindu deities; and from the various friendly offices which those *devas* are said to have rendered to Gotama, Buddhists evince a respect to their idols which at the time of their original introduction were no more intended as objects of worship than the statues of Sinhalese kings, which were anciently placed side-by-side with the images of gods.

21. *Dancing and Music* are amongst the forbidden amusements of the Buddhist as well as the Brahman *recluse*. See Hardy on *Eastern Monachism*, p. 24. 'Let the student in Theology abstain from dancing, and from vocal and instrumental music.' *Manu*, ii. § 178; but they are here looked upon as being improper to the *laic*,

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perhaps from their tendency to divert the mind to other than religious acts.

22. This sentence may be more correctly rendered as follows: 'The (Kings thus) deceived by the song of praise inappropriate to humanity, (bestowed) by those who are accomplished in *(patárana kusalehi)* the art of deception, accept by reason of their pride and without reflection (the false adulation) as truth; (or, *tatheti attani ajjhàropayantà*, apply it as such to themselves.')

23. 'The *arm*' is frequently employed in our books as an object significant, metaphorically, of *personal strength*. Thus *Parakkamabàhu* 'mighty arm,' the name of many a Sinhalese monarch; and also *Mahâbâhu* 'the great arm,' indicative of great strength. Here the writer represents kings as being deluded into the belief of having through their merits acquired double the strength of the natural man.

24. *Samana* rendered 'ascetic' is identical with *Sramana*, Sans, the *Samanian* of Tartary, the *Garmanas* of Strabo, and the *Semnoi* of other writers. See my *Essay on Terms of Address* in the Journal of the C. B. Royal A. Society, for 1856—8, p. 243. The notion of offering to *Brahmans* and Buddhist Ascetics is a creature of Hinduism. Asoka, in several of his monumental inscriptions inculcates this as a *duty*. See *Girñar* inscription. And it could only be reconciled with the doctrine of *Manu* that 'the king must allot the Brahman a suitable maintenance.'—vii. 135.

25. These would seem to be those who were distinguished amongst the Ministers as men worthy of the king's confidence, and to whom the king revealed the secrets of the State, and 'imparted his momentous counsel.'—See *Manu*, vii. §§ 58, 59.

26. *Dasa Kusala*,—'ten religious observances,'—which are, almsgiving; observance of moral precepts; meditation; participating in the merit acquired by others; imparting to others the merit acquired by us; religious attention to the affairs of Buddhism; respect for the aged; reading the Scriptures; hearing the same; and undeviating orthodoxy in religion.

27. Eastern writers generally mean by the 'earth' or 'world' a large tract of country or a kingdom consisting of several princi-

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palities. 'Thus saith Cyrus, King of Persia, the Lord God of heaven hath given me all the kingdoms of the *Earth* (world;) Ezra i. 2. In Luke ii. 1. the Roman Empire is called 'the world.' In the Bagavat Purâna it is said, 'after having installed Bhârat, the eldest of his hundred sons, in the sovereignty over the *earth* (world) Rishabha devoted himself to God.'—*Book* v. cap. v. 28.

28. *Dâna pâramin kotippattam katvâ*—'having brought to its termination the *pâramitâ* of *dâna*;' *i. e.* 'having fully accomplished the duty of almsgiving,' *dâna* being the chief of all religious duties. Buddhism teaches that of the ten or efficient virtues *dâna* is the most eminent; of the ten duties incumbent on kings, it is the most important; of the three excellent attributes or virtues of the ascetic, it is the first,—the other two being *sîla* and *bhâvanâ*.

29. *Abhinikkhamanan*—'Holy seclusion,' 'hermitage' or religious austerity, which counteracts the influence of sensual desire or *Kâma*, and renders it as powerless for evil as an elephant shorn of its proboscis.—See note 18. to Cap. vii. § 13.

30. *Bodhi-pakkhiya dhamma*—'The whole of the Buddhist doctrines, being the thirty-seven branches of religion designed chiefly for the guidance of the recluse or the ascetic. I can only find space for a brief outline, for which we are chiefly indebted to the *Vibhanga Atthakathâ*.

i,—4. *Satipatthâna* being the four *anu passanâ* on 'perceptions'; viz., *kâya* of the 'bodily impurities'; *vedanâ*, of 'enjoyment,' whether in adversity, prosperity, or in a state between those two extremes; *chitta*, 'of the conceptions of the mind,' which come into being, exist, and then vanish away; and *dhamma*, 'of the evanescent state of existence,' over which man has no control.

ii.—4. *Chattâro sammappadhânâ*, 'four good exertions,'—to prevent the coming into being of a non-existing sin; to destroy that which already exists; to bring into being good pious intentions which have not been already formed; and to carry out such existing intentions.

iii.—4. *Chattârô iddhi pâdâ*,—the 'accomplishment of the four attainments' necessary for *bhâvanâ* or meditation; viz. *chhanda*, 'a great desire'; *viriya*, 'exertion'; *chitta*, 'preparation of the heart'; and *vimansâ*, 'right discretion.'

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iv.—5. *Panchendriya*, which here means the five chief qualities requisite for a religious life,—*saddhâ* 'devout faith,' *viriya* 'exertion for its promotion'; *sati* 'prompt attention,' or not suffering to be forgotten that which should be done; *samàdhi*, 'confining the mind to the only object of doing good'; and *paññà*, 'wise discretion' in effecting it.

v.—5. *Panchabala* or 'five-fold courage,' necessary for attaining the last mentioned five qualities.

vi.—7. *Satta bojjhangà*, 'the seven requisites for the promotion of wisdom, and for the attainment of the *magga* or 'paths,' (see note 29 to § 15, cap. ii.) that is to say, *sati* remembrance; *dhamma vichaya* 'enquiry after good actions,' *viriya* 'exertion'; *pìti*, 'exceeding great joy'; *passaddhi*, 'suppression of evil thoughts'; *Samàdhi*, 'confining the mind without vascillation'; *upekhà*, 'equal mindedness' or 'mediocrity,' without inclining the mind to an excess of its inherent qualities.

vii.—8. *Ariya atthangika magga*, consisting of the following eight, 1. *Sammáditthi*, a knowledge, 'that existence is full of sorrow,' 'of its cause,' 'of its extinction,' and 'the means by which it may be extinguished'; 2. *Sammâ samkappa*, 'holy purpose,' such as a conviction that the life of a laic is beset with danger, that it is bad to take away life, and abstaining from a wish that a being may die; 3. *Sammá vàchà*, 'good speech,' consisting of truth, language of reconciliation, words that may be pleasing to others, and profitable conversation; 4. *Sammà kammanta*, 'holy acts,' such as abstinence from taking away life, from stealing, drinking, and fornication; 5. *Sammá àjìva*, 'righteous course of life,' which comprehends all good actions for a laic's livelihood, abstaining from the eight prohibited trades; 6. *Sammá vàyâma*, 'all good exertions'; 7. *Sammá sati*, 'the remembrance of all religious ordinances'; and 8. *Sammá samàdhi*, 'concentration of the mind on good acts.'

31. *Sìla*—the *pancha Sìla* are here meant, which are 'the five vows,' to abstain from, 1 'life slaughter,' 2 'theft,' 3 'fornication,' 4 'lying,' and 5 'drinking intoxicating drinks.'

32 'The labour and enjoyment too, became religion (righteousness.')—*Raghuwansa*.

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CHAPTER FIFTH.

1. This king built at the *Mahàvihàra* an invaluable and a very capacious *Salàka hall*;[1] and appointed a continual offering of alms-giving* to many thousands of *bhikkhûs*.† He also constructed a large *Parivena-vihàra*,[2] called after his own name, and dedicated it to his uncle, the Chief Priest, with many appropriate endowments, (consisting, among others, of whole) villages, and fields, together with their laborers,[3] for the use of priests. At night time he usually meditated in solitude [or 'communed with his own heart'] upon the *pàramitàs*[4] of a Bodhisatta, and *indeed*‡ expressed his warmest aspirations to achieve the same, (thus):

2. 'As if the lust of wealth has been driven away by great *Compassion*,[5] taking exclusive possession of the recesses of his heart, a *Bodhisatta*, when supplicated by beggars[6] for the bestowal of any particular thing, is unable to say, 'It is not here,' and 'I will not give.'§

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* *Salàka-bhatta*—'food distributed in the Salàka-hall, see *infra* note, i. cap. v.

† 'Beggars,' 'religious mendicants,' especially 'Buddhist priests.'

‡ *Tathàhi*—'it was so,' 'indeed.' See note (†) to cap. iv. § 3.

§ *Miha natti, nademi*—'Not here,' 'I give not.'

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'When (oh! when) may I acquire that same passion for giving away *Bâhira vatthu*,[7] which flamed in our *Bodhisatta*!'

3. 'Frequently was (Bodhisatta) slashed by sharp instruments, and dragged about to and fro.* The pain arising from such distressing (movements) torture, was indeed assuaged† by the intensity of his desire for *Dàna*.‡ Thus this great Bodhisatta at the time he gave away *ajjhattika vatthu*,§ such as flesh, blood, etc., felt neither pain nor sorrow.'

'When (oh! when) may I meet with such a glorious (opportunity) for the bestowal of *Ajjhattika*!'

4. 'When Bodhisatta was *Sankhapàla*, the *nàga*, though possessed of malignant poison, yet he was not roused to anger lest he should stain his *Sìla*;‖ but felt compassion towards those who tormented him.¶ Methinks indeed that he being himself desirous of proceeding** regretted the absence of feet.'

'When (oh! when) may I be enabled in like manner to preserve inviolate the ordinances of the *Sìla*!'

5. 'The babe sucks milk with zest, as it were ambrosia, but when he grows up he relishes it not. So

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* For instances of these sufferings, see *Sidatsangarà*, p. clxi. Also C. B. A. S. Journal, for 1850-3, p. 6, *et. seq.*

† Lit. 'did not trouble his heart.'

‡ 'Bestowal of every thing supplicated by mendicants.'

§ See note, 6 *infra*.

‖ The observance of the obligations or precepts. For instances see *Hardy on Buddhism*, pp. 102, 489.

¶ Lit. 'people who bore his weight,' *i. e.*, carried him.

** *i. e.* of relieving his tormentors of his weight, and of proceeding of his own accord whithersoever they intended to take him.

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likewise, a Bodhisatta after enjoying the luxuries of a kingdom (for a time,) discards the same on attaining wisdom.'

'Methinks, indeed, I too should ere long betake myself to a life of devout austerity.'[8]

6. 'He, (Bodhisatta,) when *Sènaka*,[9] knew by his wisdom, impure as it was, owing to (the common) frailties* (of humanity,) that the Brahman had a serpent in his bag. This is marvellous! How is it (therefore) possible to depict (the extent of) his omniscience† (after he became Buddha,) which was the result of the ten *Pàramitàs*, and the subjugation of the passions!'

'When (oh! when) may I acquire such supreme wisdom!'

7. 'When Bodhisatta was but a puny squirrel, he attempted to exhaust the waters of the great deep by (wetting) his tail. That was not indeed folly, but the result of indomitable courage for the accomplishment of his inflexible resolution.'‡

'When (oh! when) may I be a recipient[10] of that *pàramità* of persevering courage!'

8. 'When king *Kalàbu*, not satisfied with the torments he had inflicted on *Khantivàda*,§ kicked him on the breast, the latter regarded it as the very erection of a peak[11] on the summit of the mansion of forbearance.'

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* *Dosa*—theologically 'lust, envy, malice, and ignorance.'

† See note 2 to the translation of *Dasaratha Jàtaka* in the Appendix.

‡ For this legend, see *Hardy on Buddhism*, p. 106.

§ For this legend see *Sidatsangarà*, p. clxi.

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'When (oh! when) may I be clothed with the same *pàramitá* of forbearance!'

9. 'Even the very shoes of *Ràma* suffered not a groundless complaint.[12] That steady veracious* being, who preached the *four verities*,[13] spoke nothing beyond the *two-fold truth*.'[14]

'When (oh! when) by means of the same *pàramità* of truth, shall I be enabled to teach the *chatu'sachcha*† to the whole world!'

10. 'When he, resolute soul, was known as *Mûga-pakkha*,[15] from his horror of (regal) prosperity, he assumed the characteristics of the dumb, etc., and bore the excruciating pain resulting from such deception, which he discontinued not until he embraced asceticism.'

'When (oh! when) in like manner may complete *adhitthàna pàramità*‡ or firm resolution be mine!'

11. 'This wise personage, when *Lomahansa*,[16] (the hermit,) by the power of his compassion, the result of the bonds of his affection, made all men friends; and (even) changed the malevolence§ of the *nichchaverì*.'‖

'When (oh! when) may I likewise, fulfil the *Metta pàramità* or the virtue arising from love and affection!'

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* *Sachcha-sanda*—'He who speaks nothing but the truth' or 'he who does not mix the truth with falsehood.'

† See note 13 post.

‡ See note 4 post.

§ Lit. *saddan*—'The voice,' 'the speech.'

‖ *Nichcha-verì*—'The ever-inimical'—'those who are naturally at enmity.' Among animals there are several of the kind; *e. g.* the crow and the owl; etc. See *Sidatsangarà*, p. cxxvi.

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12. 'When he was known as king *Eka*, he was equal-minded, and (therefore) like a balance both to admirers and detractors; and, not giving way either to joy or anger, evinced at all times complaisance, and exercised [possessed] *upekkhà pàramità* as one devoid of feeling.'

'When (oh! when) by means of equanimity may I show an equal regard for all!'

END OF THE FIFTH CHAPTER

ON MEDITATION.

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NOTES AND ANNOTATIONS.

1. This may be called '*Ticket-distributing-hall*,' a place where pieces of boards indicating the names of the priests were drawn from a vessel, in order to ascertain the order in which they were to be served with their morning meals. For the mode in which this was done, see Appendix to *Kachchâyana's Pàli Grammar*, p. 103.

2. *Vihâra* is 'a residence for priests'; *parivena* is probably a 'college'; and *parivena vihâra* 'a collegiate residence.'—Vide note, 14 cap. ix. § 7.

3. From a rock inscription which contains the provisions of this Royal Grant, and which I have partly extracted in the Introduction, p. xiii., it would seem that by the term *Saparivârakàni* were meant 'the labourers, (tenants) and *slaves*' of the establishment.

4. *Mahàbodhisattassa dukkara charitáni*, *lit.*, 'difficult-to-be accomplished courses or acts of a *Bodhisatta*,' *i. e.* of 'a candidate for the high Priestly office of Buddha'—or 'a Buddha elect in his previous incarnations.'—(See note 35, cap. i. § 11.) The text here presents the reader with a definition of the ten *páramitás* in the meditative language of Siri Sanghabodhi himself.

Páramitá—'The prescribed virtues, the exercise of which produces the requisite merit to attain the status of a *Buddha*.' They are ten in number; and they pretty nearly agree with the ten-fold system of duties prescribed for the Brahman. See *Manu*, vi. § 92; also 'the eight-fold course of duty' given in the *Hitopadesa*, p. 7. I shall here give the Buddhistic doctrine, quoting at the end of each its Brahmanic equivalent or substitute, as the case may be. 1. *Dána* or 'giving in charity.' [Since the Brahman is the *donee*, and not the *donor*, the *dána*, or the giving inculcated by Buddhism is stated in Brahmanism to be *asteya*, or 'the abstinence from illicit gain,' or 'holy *gain*.'] 2. *Sila* or 'the observance of the precepts.' [This is called by the Brahman, *Sawcha*, 'Purification.'] 3. *Nikkhamana*; or 'Holy Seclusion' [As the nearest to the Brahman duty, this may be identified with *indriya nigraha*, or 'coersion of the organs.'] 4. *Paññâ*, or 'the virtue proceeding from wisdom.' [This is what the Brahman calls, *Dhi*, 'wisdom' or 'knowledge of the Scrip-

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tures.'] 5. *Víriya*, or 'exertion;' 'performing that which is exceedingly difficult.' [This is *Dama* in Brahmanism, 'subjugation' or 'resistence to sensual appetites.'] 6. *Khanti* 'or forbearance ['*kshamà*, patience, forbearance, or returning good for evil.'] 7. *Sachcha* or 'truthfulness' [*Satya*, 'truth, or veracity'] 8. *Aditthâna* 'firm resolution.' [This agrees with the Brahman virtue entitled *Dhruti*, which Sir William Jones renders 'contentment,' and which Wilson translates 'sacrifice.'] 9. *Metta*, 'kindness and affection for all.' [*Akrodha*, 'freedom from wrath.'] 10. *Upekkhà*, 'equal mindedness.' [*Vidyà*, 'knowledge of the Spirit or Vedas'] It may be remarked that each of these ten virtues admits of three degrees of excellence, viz., ordinary, [*upa*] 'superior,' and [*paramattha*] 'pre-eminent.' Thus there are in all thirty *pâramitâs*.

5. *Karunayà*, the Sanskrit form of the Instrumental singular, which in the Pàli should, strictly speaking, be *Karunàya*, is here adopted to supply the exigencies of metre. This is of frequent occurrence in other Pàli works; (also see Cap. 6 § 13, note 14.) Thus in the *Saddhammo-páyana*,

> Sabbàdarena vanditvà sammà sambuddha màdito
> Atha dhamman cha sanghan cha *saddhayà* muddhanà ahan.

'Having with perfect love first bowed unto the Supreme Buddha; and having next (bowed) my head with faith unto both Dhamma and Sangha.'

6. When Gotama was king *Vessantra*, he refused not the application for his substance, his wife, and children; and when king *Sivi*, he cheerfully gave away his eyes, and he is said to have exclaimed:

> 'Did any one come to me to beg (saying),
> Give an eye to the Brahman;
> To him I gave eyes,
> To the mendicant Brahman.
> Great was the joy I experienced.'

7. *Bâhiravatthu.*—Armour, in the *Ceylon Almanac* for 1833, p. 213, defines this term to be things extrinsic and adscititious. It comprehends all things which are not *ajjhattika*, (see note 12 to

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cap. vi.) 'Every thing except that which appertains to the body, such as the flesh, eyes, etc.'

8. The legend of *Vessantra*, one of Gotama's incarnations, will furnish an example of the *Abhinikkhamana*, 'holy seclusion,' 'hermitage,' or 'retirement from the world.' See *Hardy on Budhism*, p. 116.

9. The legend here referred to is embodied in the *Kâviasekera*. It relates to the life of Senaka, an incarnation of Gotama, in which, though he had not subjugated the passions, he was, nevertheless, enabled to perceive through his immaculate wisdom, that the bag of a poor beggar, who came to him distracted by an unknown voice in the wilderness, which proclaimed that 'he (the beggar) would die if he tarried in the way, and that destruction awaited his wife if he went home,'—contained a huge serpent. The *pàramità* or privilege here alluded to, is *Paññâ* or 'the virtue proceeding from *wisdom*.' Various instances of this are given in the legends of Gotama. *Màhusadha's Judgment*, (see *Sidatsangará*, p. clxxvii., also my *Contributions to Oriental Literature*, vol. 1. p. 14.) presents a very close resemblance to king Solomon's decision in 1. Kings iii. 16—28.

10. *Bhájanâ*, 'a vessel,' a term expressive of the receptacle for the thing named. It is in this sense that the Buddhists say that the *tepitaka* doctrines of Buddhism were a *bhàjanà*, 'a vessel or volume' in the memory of men. See Turnour's translations in *Bengal A. S. Journal* for 1837.

11. Anciently, the completion of buildings was celebrated by the setting up of an apex or a peak (lat. *Tholus*) on the top of the roof. Instances of this are not yet uncommon in Ceylon. See a picture of the *Daladà Màligàwa* in Forbes' *Eleven Years*, ii. p. 210. The metaphor here conveys the complete attainment of the virtue of forbearance.

12. Here the reference is to the *Sachcha pàramità*, or virtue proceeding from the observance of *truth*, and the tale is the following. Once upon a time Gotama was born Prince *Râma*. Owing to the attempts of his step-mother to procure the kingdom for her son, Ràma was desired by his father, the reigning sovereign, to leave the country for *twelve years*, and at the expiration of that

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period, to return and assume the reins of Government. He accordingly left home, and became a jungle ascetic. But before the prescribed period his father dying, Ràma was invited to the throne. The prince declined the invitation, as he would, by accepting it, act in violation of his father's injunction. Promising, however, to return at the appointed time, he entrusted the kingdom to his father's ministers; and when they applied for instructions concerning the administration of Government in the interval, *Ràma* gave them his pair of shoes, declaring, that should the ministers decide anything unjustly, the shoes would jump up. Accordingly the shoes moved whenever the truth was violated in the administration of justice, or upon a *Michchhàbhi yoga*, a groundless complaint being preferred. Since there is a striking resemblance between this *jàtaka* of Buddha and the main story of the Brahman *Ràmàyana*, I have given in the Appendix a translation of the former with its Páli version.

13. *Chatu' sachcha*, so often mentioned in Buddhistic works, may be defined as the four principles, or *truths* which explain the Faith, viz; 1. That there are afflictions and miseries attending the existence of all beings; 2. That all beings are attached to existence by reason of their natural sensual desires; 3. That those desires can only be extinguished by the attainment of *nibban* or *nirvána;* 4. That certain means are necessary for the attainment of the same.

14. Truth is two-fold:—*Sammuti sachcha*, 'that which is generally received as such by the general consent of mankind'; and *Paramattha sachcha* 'an axiom,' 'self-evident proposition,' 'that which is in itself, or in its best sense, the truth, independently of its being supported by the authority of mankind generally.'

15. Another name for Gotama's incarnation as Prince *Temiya*, in which both from his great horror of princedoms and powers, he pretended to be deaf, dumb, and maimed, and continued in a state of perfect helplessness in the most resolute manner; thus fulfilling the *adiṭṭhána páramitá* or the virtue arising from unalterable resolution.' For details of this *Játaka*, see ante, Cap. iv., § 2, note 3.

16. This appears to be a reference to the legend of *Lomasa Kassapa*, which is as follows:

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Bodhisatta was, once upon a time, a hermit in the Himàla. He was so devout in the observance of the precepts of religion, that Indra was greatly alarmed, lest he should be displaced in his throne by the hermit. To obviate such a calamity, the former resolved to divert the mind of the Rishi from his religious observances. For this purpose he appeared before the king of Baranes, and said to him, 'if you would become universal monarch, procure Lomasa Kassapa to offer a sacrifice of all kinds of animals.' The king delighted, sent one of his ministers to fetch the Rishi; but he did not consent to commit the sin involved in the proposed act. After this, Indra again appeared before the king, and suggested that his daughter Chandravatì, who was ravishingly beautiful, should be sent to the hermitage. The king accordingly sent the princess arrayed in a superb costume under the care of the same minister. As soon as the Rishi saw the beauty, he was at once smitten with a passion for her. The minister perceiving this, said to the Rishi that the king would give him the hand of his daughter, and would moreover share the kingdom with him, if he would offer the desired sacrifice. Unable to restrain his passion, the Rishi consented, and accompanied the princess to the city. On their arrival, they found that necessary preparations had been made for the oblation. The Rishi then took up a knife, and raised it to kill the animals, commencing from the largest, the elephant, when the affrighted beast cried out, and all the rest joined in the lamentation. This roused him to his senses; and acting up to his innate principles of love and affection to all beings, he threw down the knife and fled at once to the forest.

17. The *Jàtaka* referred to in the text is the following:—When Gotama was *Eka*, king of Baranes, one of his ministers, owing to an intrigue which he carried on in his harem, created a dissension between him and a neighbouring sovereign, named *Dabbamalla* This led to a war; in which, having overcome Eka, Dabbamalla caused his prisoner to be hung by his toes with his head downwards. This done, the former retired to rest, but felt sore distressed. In the agony of his distress he sent for his ministers, and inquired of the cause of his affliction, when his ministers

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informed him that 'it was his act of cruelty to king Eka.' Whereupon Dabbamalla desired that his prisoner should be instantly released. When the ministers went up to do so, they found him in the air *cross-legged* [See note 12 to Cap. viii.], absorbed in meditation, and perfectly complaisant, without evincing the slightest emotion of anger or pain. On being informed of this fact, Dabbamalla repaired to the spot; and, ascertaining that Eka had thus exhibited a deportment full of complaisance and contentment from his strict observance of the precepts on *dàna* and *sìla*, and from *devout meditation*, etc., he obtained forgiveness for his offence, punished the wicked minister, and left his kingdom for a hermitage in the forest.

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CHAPTER SIXTH.

1. During the righteous reign of this prince, as a visitation for the sins[1] of the inhabitants, a yakkha[2] came to this Island. His belly was like an immense jar.[3] By bearing its weight he was bent, and his knees were distorted. In appearance (body) he was like a dark* rainy-cloud, large and formidable. He had solid tusks, which encircled his cheeks, and eyes as large as the disk of the morning sun.

2. He was in the confines of the villages, and the eyes of the people who happened to see this red-eyed monster, became red also; and, at the same time, an epidemic fever called *Rattakkha Màraka*[4] broke out, which proved fatal.

3. The yakkha without hesitation devoured all the dead (bodies). By and bye, even those who had not seen the yakkha, were affected by this fell disease, by merely seeing the sick. Thus, before long, the (whole) country was reduced in its population, both from the dread of the yakkha and (the effects of) this malady.

4. When the king heard this, he pondered—

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* Sajala—'watery.'

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'whilst I am king the infliction of such a calamity to my subjects, cannot be tolerated;'* and on the same day took the vows of the *Attha-Sîla*[5] order. Having moreover reflected upon the ten *kusalas*,† which he had undeviatingly performed, the king most solemnly resolved (as follows)—'I will by means of *dhamma*‡ be triumphant; and I will not rise until I shall have seen the yakkha;' and he laid himself down in the inner apartment of his habitation.

By the (miraculous) influence of his good conduct,[6] and by reason of his regal power,[7] the monster was alarmed and terrified; and he was unable to remain one instant (where he was.) At early dawn (therefore) he went through the air (towards the king's palace); and, not daring to enter it, remained at a distance, (from whence) he appeared[8] to the king. The king inquired of the monster, 'Who art thou?' The latter replied, 'I am the yakkha, called *Rattakkha*. Though I was in a distant country, yet impelled by the power of thy merits, it was impossible for me to remain even a moment there, and I have been driven hither. O illustrious person, I dread thy very look.'

5. The king rising from his bed opened the casement, and seeing the yakkha (addressed him,) 'Vile wretch, wherefore dost thou devour my subjects?' 'Great king,' replied the monster, 'I have not devoured a single person after killing him in thy kingdom; but I have eaten the dead bodies which were peculiarly

* Lit.—'It is not proper.'

† See note 26 Cap. iv. § 7

‡ 'Virtuous conduct.'

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the food of dogs and jackals. There is no offence that I have committed. If, however, there be, I merit thy royal displeasure.' Unable to stand firm, he began to tremble, and with sore fright his hair bristled, when he (again) with deference addressed the king (as follows): 'Please Your Majesty, thy kingdom abounds with riches. By thy liberal charities* the people's desires are fully satiated. There is no pauperism in the land.† Yet, having come to such a country am I without food. My appetite has not been satisfied. In hunger and thirst I lead a life of destitution; I am nevertheless subjected to such a dreadful (accusation.) Sire, forgive me.'

6. The king moved by compassion at his humble address, said unto him, 'Yakkha, fear not. I shall forgive thee. Tell me what thou wouldest have.' The attendants of the royal household observing the interview between the king and the demon, flocked round the former; and, hearing the rumour that 'the yakkha has come,' and that 'he held conversation with the king,' all the ministers, the citizens, and the forces [in alarm] assembled. They filled the compound and the palace of the king, and created a great disturbance at early dawn.

7. The yakkha, seeing the assemblage of the four-bodied army, and of many thousands of gigantic armed-soldiers became petrified with fear. He could

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* *Dhanavassena*,—'By the showers-of-wealth'—wealth which comes in like showers of rain;—thick.

† *Yáchakàpi bahutará na honti*—,'There are not many paupers

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not stand; nor, influenced by the [general] standing orders of the king was he able to move or to speak. The king, observing the circumstance, said, 'Fear not, say what thou wouldest have.' The yakkha, who perceived that he had no reason to apprehend any danger from such a righteous king, addressed him as follows: 'Sire, thou indeed knowest that all beings live by food. Indeed,* the Gods who inhabit the worlds above, live satiated with *ambrosia*;[9] the Nágas who occupy the lower regions, have frogs for their food. Men live upon different food, such as *Khajjaka*,† etc. But Yakkhas and Rakkhas‡ like us, are only satisfied by taking flesh and blood. I am one of the [last] class. I am afflicted with both hunger and thirst. Even by beholding such a compassionate personage, (as thyself)—unsatisfied wretch that I am,—I am distressed.'

8. 'But, hast thou not said' (interrogated the king) 'that thou livedst upon dead bodies?' 'Yes, O Great King,' replied the monster, 'but dead bodies are insipid as dry leaves. There is no enjoyment in living on them. Sire, be thou gracious. Vouchsafe to me one request. Out of thy kingdom give me one single village that is fully peopled, so that by feeding on the people's living flesh, and (drinking) the blood

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* *Tathàhi.*—See note to cap. iv., § 3.

† The Sinhalese divide food into four kinds, *khajja*, *bojja*, *leyya*, and *peyya*. The 1st, includes all that is eatable after mastication; the 2nd, such as are swallowed, or eaten; 3rd that which is licked; and 4th, drinkables. The Brahmans add a fifth, *charbya*,—that which is chewed, *e. g.*, betel or tobacco.

‡ Vide post, note 2.

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which (courses) through their hot living (bodies), I may long live happily.' 'Oh sinful yakkha,' exclaimed the king, 'I cannot consent to life-slaughter. Abandon this foolish desire.' 'If so,' returned the yakkha, 'give me a man daily as a *bali*[10] offering.' 'It is impossible to give even one living oblation' said the king. 'Ah me! death (stares me in the face)! What shall I do!' bewailed (the yakkha) with looks of dismal humility, as he stood faint with grief, not knowing what he was about—'tis indeed a true saying, that to (the unfortunate) like me, even the [bountiful] wish-conferring trees[11] become barren!'

9. Thereupon, moved by the abundance* of the monarch's compassion, his mind was agitated in its core, and he pondered thus:

10. 'Never do I remember a mendicant's face deprived of its cheerfulness, by the anguish produced by the non-satisfaction of his desire, like the lotus faded by the severe frosty winds of winter.'

11. 'But, on account of this yakkha it is indeed impossible to afflict others. (There is, however, a mode by which I can satisfy him.) I have been watching for the day that would enable me to make a body-offering.[12] Now is the time (for the comsummation of that desire.) I am the lord over my own body. I will (therefore) satisfy him with my flesh and blood.' Having thus resolved, the king summoned his ministers, and said unto them:

12. '(Sons, this body which consists of flesh and

* *Bhûyasì*—[not Pàli], the Sanskrit form for *karunádhika*, or *atikarunâ*.

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blood, is sustained for the benefit of the world, and if it should become an object of hospitality, nothing* could afford me greater pleasure.'

The ministers declared that (they could not comprehend) the policy† of his majesty which led him, on account of *one* yakkha, to render the whole world lordless. The king replied:

13. 'I meet not supplicants for even the common necessaries of life; nor can I obtain a mendicant of this kind even by prayer[14] to the gods. Depart ye therefore, and hinder me not in giving away my bountiful gifts.' 'If such be (thy) unchangeable resolution,' said the ministers, (let) one from among us..... ....[be daily offered to the yakkha.' The king returned, 'that he could not permit such a thing whilst he lived,' and directed that a surgeon might be forthwith sent for.

The populace, who had assembled there, became as much infuriated against the demon as they now evinced their attachment to the king.]‡

14. In the transports of their passion they severally said, (some) 'that this yakkha should be decapitated,' others 'that he deserved to have his big

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* Lit.—'what can,' *etc.*, see note 13.

† *Dhamma maggo*—'the course of duty,' 'policy.' I would rather say 'the parity of reasoning by which a life devoted to the welfare of the people at large is about to be sacrificed for the sake of one demon.'

‡ This passage within brackets is omitted in no less than six copies of the work which I have consulted. The deficiency has been supplied from the Sinhalese version.

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body, which is like unto a blue rainy cloud, shot with many hundred arrows;' some 'that it was fit to be pierced with javelins,' others that he should be sliced with the sword like the plantain'; some 'that he should be burnt in the fire, after being bandaged with cloth, fed with oil,' others 'that all these things would not be permitted by the king, (and therefore) that the monster should be bound like a lump of sugar,[15] and cast into prison.' The yakkha, hearing all the cruel punishments which had been thus suggested by the several speakers, was struck with horror, and became (as it were) transfixed to the spot like a dead body.*

15 Whereupon the king said, 'Friend Rakkhasa, the cause of much assistance (for the accomplishment of my designs), an object to give away, a bent of mind to give, and (a suppliant like) thee wishful of flesh and blood, are three things which seldom meet together. (They are now happily met.) Let us both gratify our desires. Cheerfully (therefore) accept the living flesh and blood, which I shall give thee out of my body.' Saying so, he held out his right arm towards a surgeon,[16] to have his flesh sliced out.

16. The yakkha (amazed at the king's conduct) closed both his ears,[17] and, (thinking that this) calamity should be averted, (this) mischief avoided, (exclaimed); 'Hail Your Majesty,[81] what is this great mishap that has befallen me, like poisonous food unto one who longs to live, or like a flame of fire that envelops one who is scorched by the sun. If king *Vesavanna*† should know that

* Or 'stood silent like an immoveable dead body.'

† Lit. 'the Mahàràjà.'—See note 19, post.

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I entertained such a desire, divine punishment would surely alight on my head; and the guardian gods[20] of the world would decapitate me. I shall by no means consent to the commission of such an offence.'

17. 'If so yakkha,' inquired the king, 'what can I do for thee?' The former, terrified and distressed by the mandates* of the king and the punishments prescribed by the populace, replied, 'Sire, I ask nothing more than that a *bali*-offering[21] of food fit for royalty should henceforth be given to me from village to village. The king, after ordering the inhabitants to do so, by beat of tom-tom[22] throughout the city and the entire country, and admonishing the yakkha to abstain from life-slaughter, dismissed him (from his presence.)

END OF THE SIXTH CHAPTER,

ON THE SUBJUGATION OF RATTAKKHA.

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* Or 'the prestige of Sovereign authority.'

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NOTES AND ANNOTATIONS.

1. *Akusala vipákena...* 'by reason of the rewards of demerit,' 'as the fruits of demerit,' 'as a visitation for wickedness,' or, as it is usually expressed 'as a visitation of Providence.'

2. The Sinhalese do not, like the Hindus, draw a distinction between *Yaksha* and *Ráksha*. Both terms are applied to one and the same being. Compare §§ 1, 2. In the *Vishnu Purâna* p. 41, Professor Wilson says, "Brahmà put forth in darkness beings emaciate with hunger, of hideous aspects, and with long beards. Those beings hastened to the deity. Such of them as exclaimed 'Oh *preserve* us' were thence called *Ràkshas* (from *raksha* 'to preserve;') others who cried out 'let us *eat*,' were denominated from that expression *yakshas* (from *yaksha*) ('to eat')." Mr. Turnour, the translator of the *Mahawansa*, defines *yakkhas* to be the designation of a class of demons, derived from the root *yaja* to make offerings. In a note to the *Megha Dûta*, p p. 2—3. Prof. Wilson regards a *yaksha* as a 'demigod of which there exists a *gana* or class.' He adds, 'They have few peculiar attributes, and are regarded only as the companions or attendants of *Kuvera*, the god of wealth. The word is derived from *yaksha*, 'to worship'; either, because they minister to *Kuvera*, are reverenced themselves by men, or are beloved by the *Apsaras*, the courtizans of Indra's heaven. They have, however, their own female companions or wives, as appears by the poem. One writer cited and censured by a commentator on the *Amara Kòsha*, derives the name from *yaksha*, 'to eat;' because, he says, they devour children. Occasionally, indeed, the *yakshas* appear as imps of evil, but in general their character is perfectly inoffensive." See cap. i. § 4. note 12.

3. The comparison of a large belly to a 'jar' is very frequent by Eastern writers. Thus, one of the thirty-six *Dréshkánás* (the sun) is described by *Varaha Míra* as 'a female, clad in red apparel, with her mind fixed on wearing ornaments, having a mare's head, and *a belly like a jar*, &c.'—*Colebrook's Essays*, ii. p. 365.

4. *Lit.* 'red-eyed epidemic,' which is stated to be [not opthal-

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mia, as supposed by Mr Turnour ;* but] a *Fever*, the result of the malign influence of evil spirits or demons. See Dr. Wise's *Hindu Medicine*, p. 220. It is stated in Eastern medical books that in nearly all the diseases produced by devils, the eyes of the patient become *red*, and for the reason that demons themselves are generally described to be 'red-eyed.'—See Introduction to the *Sidatsangarà*, p. clxxx.

5. The first eight of the ten obligations. See *Hardy on Buddhism, p* 488.

6. *àchára dhamma tejena*—'by the power of *áchára dhamma*,' or 'course of conduct characterized by approved manners,' 'well-conducted life,' 'good conduct'.

7. *Rájánubhávena*, 'by the might of royalty,' 'by reason of his regal power,' 'the prestige of his Sovereign authority.'

8. The appearance here is said to be by the supernatural power supposed to be inherent in yakkhas.

9. *Suddhá bhojana* or *amrata*, '*ambrosia*.' The moon is supposed to be its receptacle. It is one of the several inestimable *ratanas*, which were recovered at the churning of the ocean by gods and demons. 'It is replenished,' says the *Vâyu Puràna*, 'from the sun during the fortnight of the increase. At full moon the gods adore that planet for one night; [may it not be from such a notion that the Buddhists celebrate the full-moon day as their sabbath ?] and from the first day all of them, together with the *pitis* and *rishis*, drink one *kàla* or digit daily until the ambrosia is exhausted.

10. '*Bali*, an oblation'—'offering to the demons,' on 'the sacrifice of animal or raw flesh,' 'tax, tribute.'

11. *Kappa rukkha*—one of the five kinds of *(suratura)* 'the all bestowing trees, (See Cap . 1 § note 37.) which flourish in Indra's heaven. It is one of the *ratanas* recovered at the churning of the ocean by gods and men, and is represented, like *Surabi*, 'the Cow of abundance,' another of those *ratanas*, to yield whatever one desires. The yakkha is here made to lament that to him even this tree has withholden its bountiful gifts.

* See *Mahawansa*, p. 230.

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12 *Ajjhattika dânan* ;—'the giving away of that which is connected with the body, such as eyes, blood, members of the body'; 'a body-offering.'

13. In the Sinhalese as in the Pàli, a question as here put is equal to a negation of the proposition.

14. *Arádhanayá.*—This should be according to the strict rules of Páli grammar, ârâdhanàya.—See note 5, ante, cap v. § 2.

15. This is descriptive of the peculiar mode in which in Ceylon cakes of jaggery are bound with cords.

16. *Sallakattâ,*—from sallaka, 'a thin sharp instrument,' referring to 'the slender probes and needles used in operations upon the human body.' Thence *sallaka* is used to denote 'surgery'—a science in which the Hindus and the Sinhalese anciently kept pace with the most enlightened nations of the world. It was held in such high estimation, that when Dhanwantari, the father of Hindu Medicine, asked his pupils on what subject he should first lecture, the unanimous reply was—'Surgery.' Frequent mention is made of this art in our books. The *Mahawansa* records the wonderful operations performed by Buddhadàsa, one of our kings, who was also the author of a book on Medicine, (see *Mahawansa*, p 242, *et seq.*) and the text bears testimony to the existence of surgeons in the time of Sanghabodhi. The Sinhalese works, which owe their origin to Hindu *shâstras* on Medicine, mention some one hundred and twenty-seven kinds of surgical instruments; but they were, doubtless, rude as compared with those which are now in use amongst European nations. For a description, however, of the former, the reader is referred to Dr. Wise's work on Hindu Medicine. The professors of Surgery like those Medicine, of were held in the highest estimation by the ancient Sinhalese. They received the same divine honors which were paid to Æsculapius by the ancient Greeks; and were regarded with a veneration not less than that with which the Romans held them; as we perceive from the celebrated saying of Cicero—*Neque enim ullâ aliâ re homines propius ad deos accedunt, quam salutem hominibus dando.* But, Surgery, like the science of Medicine, has of late declined in this island; and there are but few amongst the

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Medical practitioners who can understand the *Susruta* of the Hindus, or the Pâli *Manjusa*, and the Sanskrit *Sârattthosangahâ* of the Sinhalese. Yet instances are by no means rare where eminent Sinhalese Medical men have successfully treated cases, which had baffled the experience and treatment of European practitioners.

17. 'Covering both the ears'—denotes unwillingness to hear, or comply,—opposition to the speech uttered,—one's sense of indignation. Thus in Manu, ii. § 200,—'when defamatory language is uttered concerning his teacher the student is enjoined to *cover his ears*.'

18. In nearly all Oriental speech the *third* person is used in addressing a person with great respect.

19. By '*Mahârâja* here, *Vesamuni* or *Vesavana*, the demon king, or the chief of all the infernal deities is meant. See the account in C. B., R. A, S. *Journal*, p. 24. The authority which he exercises over the Yakkhas or Ràkshasas, was such indeed, according to the Buddhist works, that Gotama consented to an edict being proclaimed by Vesavana to the effect that the demons should not even approach a Buddhist ascetic with an evil design. This edict is embodied in the *Atànâtiya* sutta, one of the sections of the Pâritta ceremony. See my *Lecture on Buddhism*, p 21; also Preface, ante p. cxlviii.

20. *Lokapàlas* are generally supposed by the Buddhists to be the four guardian gods of the world; Dhatarattha, Verulhaka, Verûpakkha, and Vesavana, who received Gotama into their hands upon his birth; but I believe this term, which is borrowed from the Hindu Mythology, has a much more extended meaning, and includes all the divinities who were appointed by Brahma upon the creation of the world to act as rulers over the different kinds of created things. For a condensed account of them the reader is referred to the note in Prof: Wilson's *Hindo Theatre*, Vol. 1., p 219, et. seq.

21. Here the yakkha elects to receive what is called by the Hindus *griha-bali*, or the *bhùta-yajna* designed for the benefit of those beings not provided for by other sacrifices.

22. *Tom-Tom*. This is a kind of drum used for the purpose of proclaiming the edicts of Government. It is still in use in Ceylon.

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CHAPTER SEVENTH.

1. At this time, through the neglect of the divinities[1] presiding over rain, there was a drought. A scorching sun by reason thereof, a hot burning atmosphere, and a dry earth—these three, like those affected by fever, had imbibed all the moisture in all parts.

2. The beautiful forest,[2] scorched by the sun, and filled with the cry of crickets,[3] seemed as it were a bason filled with hissing water, boiling with great heat.

3. The (expanse of the) sky, hot with the burning sun, was brightened even in the rainy season, with masses of white clouds, as if it were anointed with (the powder of) the sandal.[4]

4. Thus, by the dissemination of great heat, rivers, lakes, ponds, etc., were dried up, leaving merely the sand and mud therein. The crops in the fields were destroyed, and the ground was chapped[5] in various places. For want of water both beasts and birds were exhausted.[6] The king, having heard of this state (of things) with a heart (full of) compassion (to the people), took (upon himself) the religious obligations of the *attha sìla;**

* Eight observances, *i. e.* three more than the *pancha sìla.*—[See note to cap. iv, § 9]. The additional ones being, abstaining from 6. the eating of solid food after mid-day ; 7. attendance upon dancing, singing and music; and 8. the use of flowers, scents, etc.

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entered the compound of the *thûpa;* and reclined on its stone-pavement, earnestly vowing as follows: 'Although I die, rise I will not, until the clouds bringing forth rain, and the streams spreading in all directions, and overflowing the entire land of Lanka, shall lift me up on the floods.'

5. Instantly, by the influence of the gods, nâgas,[7] and yakkhas, who were alarmed by the power of the king's righteousness, and who were pleased with his many virtues, rainy clouds rose in all directions; yes,*

6. Extensive black clouds, like surveyors of the dimensions of space,[8] and like spreaders of the darkness from the *tops*,[9] glistened like the shadows of mountains, which (*lit.* entered) were reflected in the mirror of the sky.

7. Formidable grumbling clouds, rolling in thunder, began to pour down at different places. Pea-fowls crying with delight[10] up-raised (*lit.* bore) their plumes like umbrellas on head.

8. The torrents, which, released from the (clouds,) dropt down like clusters of pearls, destroyed the dust. The delightful savoury vapours† of the earth, wafted by the storm, prevailed.‡

9. Flashes of lightning, glowing with a tawny gold colour, extending on all sides,[11] and pursuing the measured music[12] of the clouds, prevailed like a revel.

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* *Tàthahi.*—[See cap. iv. § 3 note †, and cap. vi. § 7.] It may be rendered 'yes' in English when something more is added to what is stated before.

† Lit. 'Natural smell.'

‡ *Chachàra*—'Manifested,' 'prevailed.'

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10. The floods, ruddy* like those who glow with rage, noisy like those who exult with joy, and, as it were pursuing the enemy of heat, deluged all parts (of the island.)

11. Even after so great a fall of rain, the king rose not, thinking that 'the floods had not buoyed him up.' The ministers, (seeing this,) stopped up the drains of the court of the *chetiya;* (when,) on the waters which were accumulated in it the king was lifted up. Thereafter he rose, and having held a festival (in honor of the thùpa,)[13] entered the palace.

12. Afterwards some evil-disposed persons, knowing that the king who ruled without (visiting crime with) punishment,[14] was most tender-hearted, turned robbers, and began to pillage the country, etc. (Though) the king, learning this (state of things) caused the robbers to be brought alive, and cast into prison; (yet) he privately gave them gems, gold, etc., and sent them away, commanding them 'not to do the like'. (And) as if it were a punishment for the thieves, he caused dead bodies to be brought at night-time from the cemetery, to be burnt on the fire, and to be cast away from the city. Having also[15] thus repressed the crime (lit. 'fear') of theft, he one day reflected as follows:

13. 'What does the happiness of this State (signify)! It will be well (for me) to offer to some one this kingdom full (of prosperity), treasure, people, wives, ministers, soldiers, and chariots,[17] and enter the forest (and there) observe the (religious obligations of) *sìla*, and release both my body and mind.† (Having thus pondered), he resolved upon holy seclusion.[18]

* *Tamba-vanna*, 'copper-colour.'

† See post, note † at p. 87.

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At the same time Goṭhâbhaya[19] conceived a (sinful) treacherous design, as follows:—'This king is righteous. He is preeminent in virtuous conduct.* Through the ten-fold meritorious deeds† which he daily practises, even his age‡ is prolonged; and the very *Upapilaka*[20] sins vanish away. He will thus live long. [Waiting for] his demise, when shall I obtain the kingdom? Even if I shall obtain it in my dotage,§ how shall I then enjoy the sensual pleasures adapted to the young?[21] I will (therefore) soon dispatch him from hence, and assume the kingdom.'

Thus reflecting, he went through the northern gate,[22] taking with him many valuable treasures, and assembled the thieves who had previously infested the country, and he returned with an army‖, and besieged the capital.¶

The king, hearing this, reflected: 'I will give the kingdom to some one, and accomplish (my design) of proceeding to holy seclusion. To me who have so resolved, this, methinks, has been brought about by the power of some gods. [If I should remain], the ministers will, against my will, wage war. Then the people on both sides will, on my account, suffer much distress. What benefit (is there) from this kingdom?[23] Let it be given to [Goṭhabhaya] himself.' Thus reflecting, he privately proceeded in disguise through the

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* *Saddàchàra*—'Good manners', 'virtuous conduct.'

† *Dasakusala*.—See note (26) cap. iv. § 7

‡ *Ayusankhâra*.—See note to cap. iv. § 7

§ *Vuddhà turo ahan*—'I who shall be more old.'

‖ *Balakàyan*, another instance of *l* being the *Pàli* representative of the Sanscrit *t*.

¶ Lit. 'took' the gate of the city.

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southern gate,* taking with him the water strainer,[24] and entered the district of *Malayà* [25].

14. 'Those who are ever of a satisfied mind, can live anywhere: is there a place where there are no fruits, roots, water, and habitations?'

Thus reflecting, he gradually proceeded, and entered the great forest called *Hatthavanagalla*.[26]

15. [It was] a thick (forest) clothed with tender vegetation, flowers, and fruits, and filled with different groves of trees, both high and low, with wide-spread branches—(trees such as) Panasa (Jack or 'the artocarpus integrefolia)'† *sahakâra* (sweet-smelling mango), *Kapittha* (Feronia Elephantum), *Timbarû* (Diospyros glutinosa), *Jumbìra* (Lemons), *Jambû* (Eugenia Jambolana), *Vibhìtaka* (Terminalia belerica), *Amalaka* (Emblic myrobalan), *Harìtaka* (Terminalia chebula), *Tcrìtaka* (pale *Lodh*, as given in Wilson's Sanskrit Dictionary) *Sàla* (shoria robusta), *Sarala* (pinus longifolia), *Vakula* (mimusops Elengi), *Punnàga* (rottleria tinctoria), *Kadambaka* (nauclea kadamba) *Asoka* (Jonesia Asoka), *Nìpa* (bandhuca, Rox., a species of *Asoka*. as stated by Professor Wilson), *Champaka* (michelia Champoc), *Hintàla* [phœnix or elate paludosa) *Tàla* (corypha taliera, Rox.) etc.[27] It was frequented (inhabited) by divers kinds of birds, and flocks of various species of deer, which approached the ferries at the confluence of rivers that coursed by the confines of beautiful and lofty mountains. It was presided over by powerful deities.‡ It was as delightful as the forest of Nan-

* See note 22, cap. vii. § 13.

† Sir James E. Tennent's History of Ceylon, vol. i p. 116.

‡ See note 20 to cap. vi.

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dana.[28] It abounded* with bounties of nature (such as) roots, fruits, and water. Seeing this great forest, and thinking that 'the same is a fit "Ascetic-wood" for him (*lit.* me),' he tarried (there.) Having composed his mind by the release of body and mind,† and having moreover, entered the habitation of *Metta*,[30] he took his abode with a frame nourished by the thrill of pleasurable emotions,—the result of a jungle life.

END OF THE SEVENTH CHAPTER

'ON THE DEPARTURE TO HOLY SECLUSION.'

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* *Ramaṇiyan*,—'Delightful,' 'pleasing.'

† The body and mind set free from all affections, lusts, or desires. See Appendix to my Introduction to *Kachchâyana's Pali Grammar*, p. 110.

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NOTES AND ANNOTATIONS.

1. '*The god presiding*,' etc.—All the elements are personified. Each is regarded as being presided over by a *Srí*, or deity. Even the notion of 'household-gods' or *kula devetà* gains amongst the Sinhalese. See C. B. R. A. Society's Journal for 18 p But they are, like *Vassa Valàhaka*, 'the divinity of rain,' only regarded by many of the Buddhists, as a symbolical representation of the powers of nature; *e. g.* the sky,

'With showers prolific feeds the vast embrace
That fills all nature, and reward her race.'
Virg.

2. *Vanaràji*—'The embellished forest,' or, it means, as remarked by Bopp, 'the region of the woods.'—See note on this word by Pr. Williams, in his *Sakuntalà*, p. 60.

3. The *Cricket* is described in English books, as in the following lines of Milton,

——'far from all resort of mirth
Save the *Cricket* on the *hearth*' —

to be an insect that chirps about ovens and fire-places. But in the East it is found in gardens and forests, especially in the hottest seasons of the year. Thus in the *Nalapàkyànan*, p. 36.

——'Onward went the lotus-eyed
Through the dread and *desert Forest*
Ringing with the *Cricket's* song.'

4. The comparison of a summer-cloud to the dust of the sandal smeared on their bodies by the Hindus, is frequently met with in our books.

5. In times of great drought in the East, the ground is *chapped*. Thus in Jeremiah xiv. 4 'the ground is chapt; for there was no rain on the earth.'

6. 'The earth was baked, and scorched heavens vault of blue.
The birds concealed amid the branches slept,
The beasts within their lurking places crept.'
Anvari Suhaili, p. 17.

7. *Nàgas* are supposed to be demi-gods, the attendants of *Verûpakkha;* and to reside under the three hills which support

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Mount Meru. They are represented as *Cobras*; but they can assume any form they please. In the text they are represented as beings equal to *devas* and *yakkhas*.

8. This is in reference to the movements of clouds with great velocity. The writer in his poetical fancy compares them to surveyors attempting to span the boundless expanse.

9. *Sikhâhi*—'The top of the rainy cloud which first appears dark, before the whole partakes of that colour.'

10. The writer here gives us a description of the rainy season. As a hot day is generally preceded by a cold night, (Gen. xxxi. 40.) a drought is, in the East, frequently followed by the fall of excessive rain. Thus in the *Ratanávalí*, p. 64, *Tapati pràvrishi nitaràm abhyarna jalàgamo divasah*,—'In the rainy season, when the rain is near at hand, the day is especially hot.' 'The shrieks of pea-fowls' indicate the great delight which the rainy season affords to those birds: it is supposed that at this period they pair. No Eastern writer describes the *Vasanta* season without speaking of 'the dance of pea-fowls.' Frequent allusions are made to them in our books. One extract will however suffice from Professor Wilson's translation of a passage in the *Gatakarpara*, given in the *Meghadûta*, p. 23,

'Hear how the Peacocks' amorous cry
Salutes the dark and cloudy day.'

11. *Muhun disante anuranjayantí*—'Frequently, or again-and-again, adhering on all sides.'

12. *Tàli*—'The musical time or measure'; the music which was repeated at certain intervals;—referring to the repetition of thunder at certain uniform periods during a storm.

13. Buddhists hold a great *pûjà* in the stead of the sacrifice which the Hindus perform in celebrating auspicious events. The *pûjà* here indicated was probably a festival at which there was a great illumination, and when flowers were offered to the thûpa.

14. *Adandena asatthena*—'Without danda and without weapons.' *Danda*, 'a Magistrate's staff', used here as a symbol of punishment and justice; whence it means *punishment* itself.

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15. 'Also'—to show that in *addition* to the restoration of the country from the attacks of a cannibal, and from the effects of a drought, the king also protected his subjects from the depredations of robbers. But see Preface, p. xciv.

16. *Orodha*=antapura, 'concubines,' 'courtesans.' See note 2 to cap. iv.

17. *Vàhana* here refers to 'chariots,' or rather to the three last of the four constituent hosts of an army, which consisted of foot-soldiers, horses, elephants, and chariots.

18. *Abhinikkhamana.* See note 29 to cap. iv. § 7. 'The leaving for a life of an anchorite.' This notion of hermitage or "holy seclusion" is clearly identical with that of the Brahmans,' [*Manu* vi. 26.] who divided their course of life into four stages, viz., 1, *brahmachariyà*, or the time which one, like Prince Sanghabodhi, spent for his education; 2, *grahastah*, or the period which he occupied as a laic; 3, *vanaprasthah*, here called *abhinikkhamana*, the period devoted for ascetism in the woods, or that in which he ceased to be a laic.—[See cap. ii. § 3; and cap. v. § 5.]; and 4, *bhikshnà*, that in which he wandered as a religious mendicant. Numerous instances are given in History of Buddhist kings, who, after reigning for a length of time, have betaken themselves to a life of jungle ascetism; but instances are indeed rare of the former having embraced the last order of mendicity.

19. '*Gothàbhaya conceived.*'—The Sinhalese version adds, 'as if it were to forward the designs of this righteous prince, (Sanghabodhi), Gothabhaya conceived,' etc.

20. *Upapìlaka*—upapìdaka sins. It will be seen that the Pâli *l* is here changed into *d* in the Sanskrit. It means '*ad-interim* sins of a previous birth, for which a being suffers ill at intervals.'

21. 'A decrepit old man can neither enjoy nor relinquish the pleasures of sense; as a toothless dog only licks a bone with his tongue.'—*Hitopadesa*, i. § 119.

22. Here Gothábhaya is made to go through the *northern* gate; and Sanghabodhi (see cap. vii. § 13) and his queen (see cap. ix. § i.) are made to take their departure through the *southern*.

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Eastern writers assign particular gates for particular processions, doubtless from a belief, as in *Manu* ii. 52., that to face the east is to prolong life, the south to attain fame; the west, prosperity, and the north, truth and its reward. But, I believe, the writer here merely states the fact, since Sanghabodhi went to Malaya on the *south* of Anurádhapura, and Goṭhâbhaya collected his army from the *north*, which as we learn from history, was at this period the resort of hordes of *banditti*.

23. 'The attainment of the object of ambition satisfies anxious longing merely: the very business of guarding what has been obtained, harasses royalty [the office of king] like a parasol, the handle of which is held in the hand, is not for the removal of great fatigue without leading to fatigue.'—*Professor William's Sankuntalà p.* 189.

24. *Parissâvana mattan.*—'The water strainer,' a piece of cloth about a cubit square without rent, used by priests for straining water. It is used by Brahmans as well as Buddhists; thus *Manu*,—'let him drink water purified by straining through a cloth, lest he hurt some insect.' cap. vi. § 46.

25. *Malayâ*—'The mountainous districts of which Adam's Peak is the centre'—one of the three ancient geographical divisions of this Island, the two remaining being *Pihiti*, and *Rohona*. Pihiti was the northern division down to the *Maha Veli;* Rohona, the southern division, from the *Maha Veli*, and the *Kalu* on the north and west as far as the sea on the south and east. The remaining land, including what is now known as the Western Province, was comprised in the denomination of Malayá, abbreviated by the Sinhalese into *Máyâ*.

26. The picture is indeed not overdrawn. When, some years ago, I visited this part of the country, my eyes rested on a scene which I could not soon or easily forget. Its greatest attraction was the stately forest. Whilst I stood amazed at the prodigious height to which the trees had grown, straight from the ground, the eye lingered with delight on the 'pillared shades' thick with their dense green foliage, and laden

——'with their pendent fruits and flowers.'

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The *Figs* and the *Palms* which grew up together reminded me of the *Cocoanut* and the *Bread fruit* which rose, as it were, in love's embrace, in the south-west coast of Ceylon. The *Talipot*, the *Nâ*, the *Sapan*, the *Hedawaka*, the *Ketakâla*, the *Del*, the *Milila*, the *Godapora*, (not to mention other timber-trees enumerated in the text), were all here seen side-by-side with the *Katuimbul*, the *Goraka*, the *Veralu*, the *Kaju*, the *Erabadu*, etc., etc. There were also climbing plants in endless variety. The *Potâ*, the *Kirindi*, the *Kiritilla*, and the *Kiri-anguna** entwined themselves round the trunks as they clambered up in search of light. The *ferns* and the *orchids*, which thrived luxuriously in the hollows of old trees, waiving their brilliant foliage, seemed as if they were the cultivation of some nymph of the forest. Nothing could exceed the beauty of the flowing tresses of the *Hedayâ*, of which two species were met with in the cold and mossy clefts of trees that never saw the light of the sun. Under the shade grew the *Vana Râja*. Revelling in the rich and luxurious vegetable mould, which lay several feet thick, this dwarf 'King of the Forest' spread out its leaves, 'the most exquisitely formed in the vegetable kingdom, and whose colour resembles dark velvet approaching to black, and reticulated over all the surface with veins of ruddy gold.'† It is difficult to realize the beauty of the distant landscape along the streams and marshes of the forest. The graceful *Bambu* was surrounded by the magnificent *Asoka*. The pale azure of the *Sal*, which deeply contrasted with the burnished green of the

* Speaking of this plant [Gymnema lactiferum] Sir Emerson Tennent, says 'it is a creeper.....used medicinally by the Natives, but *never as an article of food.*' *History of Ceylon*, vol., 1. p. 102. This is an error. It is a pot-herb commonly used by all classes of the Sinhalese. There are few places in the Western Province where it is not cultivated. The Temple premises contain a beautiful creeper; and the writer sees, just as he is now writing, another in his own town residence.

† Sir James E. Tennent, from whom I quote the above description, calls it 'a terrestrial orchid (the *Anæctochilus setaceus.*)'—See his *History of Ceylon*, vol. 1. p. 103.

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delicately tinted foliage of the *Siambalâ* on the hillocks, and both with the deep emerald brushwood below,—waived over the *Gloriosa Superba* (Niagalâ), whose matchless flowers festooned the adjacent heaps of verdure; whilst the *Muruta* overshadowed the *Bândurâ*, that grew luxuriantly beneath the pink-clad branches of the former. Nothing, again, could surpass either the splendour of the flowers, or the beauty of the leaves. Some of the latter by themselves exhibited the hues of the former. The scarlet shoots of the *Nâ*, for instance, vied in beauty with the gorgeous flowers of the *Katu-imbul*, the pink clusters of the *Muruta* with the ripe leaves of the *Kottambâ*, the pale yellow *Champac* with the tawny *Veralu*, and the snow-white blossoms of the *Idda* with the tender buds of the *Mussenda*.*

Such were the charms with which the Forest was invested two-and-twenty years ago, as I beheld it at the confluence of the Levangam and the Halgam streams, which converging into one rivulet take a westerly direction near this forest, from whence it is called the *Attanagalu Oya*. My second visit was not many weeks ago, and it is not surprising to observe that the physical change which has progressed throughout many districts of the Island has also affected this part of the country. The stately jungle has partially disappeared before the *ketta*-cutting of Native cultivation; extensive Cocoanut plantations, one of which may be seen immediately adjoining the premises of the temple, have displaced the timber trees; creepers of the sweet-potato have taken the place of the flower-trees of the marshes; large plantations of the *Mauritius* and *West Indian Pines* are to be met with in this neighbourhood, together with the *Rambutan* and the *Mango*; houses and

* This creeper (*mussenda frendosa*) produces cream-white leaves, a colour very rare in the vegetable kingdom. Their beauty as seen over green verdure and close upon the *gloriosa superba*, is enchanting, and surpasses anything I have seen in the jungles which line the principal roads of this (Western) Province. The flower of this is also pretty, and being similar in shape and size, to the ear-rings of the Sinhalese, little children among us wear it in their ears.

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boutiques have sprung up here and there; and the Moorish boutique-keeper and the itinerant tradesman occupy the paths which were once infested by wild beasts. The elephants have altogether disappeared; and but for a solitary tame beast, the property of Mr. Christopher Dias, the Modliar of the district, who has turned him to good account, the sight of one would be a novelty to the rising generation of these parts. The paths themselves, which were "narrow, crooked and winding," are no longer impassable and covered over with the stretching arms of the surrounding jungle. A beautiful road which commences at or near the 17th milepost of the great trunk road to Kandy intersects this part of the country. This beautiful line called the '*Pasyâla* and *Hanwella* road,' which was opened in 1850 by the indefatigable and zealous Modliar already named, passes between the Temple and the Oya of Attanagalla, and terminates at the *Hewagam Korle*, at a distance of twenty miles. As you proceed towards the south, and reach the 4th milepost on this road, you see on your left the site of the *Nivan Pokuna*, or 'the pond of repose,' into which the queen of *Siri Sanghabodhi* fell in her wearisome rambles in search of her royal husband. The progress of sixteen centuries has converted this pond into a corn field; yet from its high embankments it still gives indication of its original character. A few yards farther take the traveller to the Temple* grounds of Attanagalla, situated on the right hand side of the road. These are by no means extensive, and their limited area as compared with the vast extent indicated in the *Attanagaluwansa* induced

* Of all the numerous writers on Ceylon and its Antiquities none have made allusion to this ancient Temple, except Turnour and Forbes. But even they never visited it, although it was not farther than 28 miles from Colombo. The former in his remarks (see *Ceylon Almanac* for 1834) on *Sinhalese Inscriptions*, a translation of one of which I have partly given in the Preface, p. xiii, notices that Sanghabodhi's head was buried with great pomp at Attanagalla, over which the usurper raised a Dagoba which is still standing. The latter in his *Eleven Years in Ceylon*, at p. 188, after alluding to the delightful scenery of Attanagalla (see extract in the Pre-

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me to inquire what had become of the large domains attached to this monastery by ostentatious kings of old, as detailed in the History before us. It appears, from the information received in the course of my inquiries, that during the times of the Portuguese, the priests as well as the people of this part of the island, had deserted their homes, and that the lands owned by them had been taken by that Government, and that although the priests laid claim to the extensive temple property which had been granted to them under our own sovereigns, yet they could only succeed in resuming possession of the monastery and the lands immediately surrounding it, which, according to a recent Government survey, do not exceed 26 acres. Entering this garden, which is fully planted with a variety of fruit trees, chiefly Cocoanuts and other Palms, and many of the trees mentioned in cap. vii. of the History, amongst which the *Sal*, the *Kumbuk*, and the *Nâwâ* are the most prominent, we reached a rocky hill about 80 feet higher than the surrounding country. Ascending a flight of steps, about 25 feet high, of fine granite slabs, and passing through large heaps of granite, the remains of carved works and ancient buildings, we entered the lower terrace of the temple. Here is to be seen the foundation of the five-storied structure originally erected by *Upatissa* (cap. x. § 3), and subsequently restored by *Moggallâna* into one of three stories.

At present, it is a square building, 54×44 feet, with four neat porches, facing the cardinal points. Of the ancient granite pillars, upon which the original structure of five stories was built, and of which upwards of one hundred existed 20 years ago, there are only 16

face p. xcix.) says:—'At the Attanagalla Oya, the road approaches one of the low ranges of hills which diverge in all directions from the mountainous centre of the Island; and four miles off to the right is situated the Rock of Attanagalla, surmounted by religious buildings. The principal of these were erected about A. D. 248 by Goloo Abba, to the memory of King Siri Sangabo, who had abandoned his throne and retired in disguise to this place, where he was killed by a peasant in order to obtain the reward offered.'

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now left, each nine feet high. On the south of this hill is a large irregular building, probably patched up from time to time, but containing ample evidence of its former splendour. This is used as a residence of one of the two fraternities of priests, amongst whom the establishment is now divided at the head of their chief *Walpola Indrajóti*. Leaving this, and proceeding westward, the traveller has again to ascend a flight of 73 steps, 36 feet in height. Here nothing attracts his attention more prominently than the granite slabs that lie scattered on either side exhibiting faint traces of the skill of the Singhalese sculptor. Inscriptions are also found, but they are so defaced and decayed that one cannot learn from them anything beyond the fact that they once contained some *Deva Nágara* characters. When once you get upon the topmost terrace the most remarkable of the buildings is the "*Rotunda*" built by Gothâbhaya (cap. ix. § 6). This is 158 feet in circumference, and is most substantially built, with a broad foundation rising about 3½ feet from the ground, of entirely large slabs of hewn granite. It has four porches for entrances; and the roof, which contains two stories covered with flat tiles, rests upon two rows of granite pillars,—the top story in the centre on eight granite pillars, occupying an area of about 250 feet, and the lower story upon 16 similar pillars, which are fixed close to the round wall. Both the roof as well as the walls are beautifully painted in the style peculiar to Buddhists, embellished with statues, pictures of the gods, &c. The *Thûpa* which was originally built by Gothábhaya, (cap. ix. § 7) and subsequently restored by Parakkama, after its destruction by our intestine foes (cap. xi. § 3,), and of which so much has been written in the history before us, occupies the centre. It is a neat structure of bricks, surmounted with a silver-guilt pinnacle, and reaches the roof which is intended as a canopy for the same, (cap. ix. § 7.)

Outside these pillars and facing the four doors, are four images of Buddha, in a sitting posture, surrounded by neat glass cases. One of the idols is of granite; but the head which was destroyed by some fanatics has been since restored. In close proximity to this sacred building is the rocky-pool, near which Sanghabodhi met the poor

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traveller; (cap. viii. § 1). Its sides are found scarped and polished, and the crevices and holes neatly filled up with granite slabs. It contains a plantation of the Lotus; and our attendant, the High Priest of the Temple, pointed out to us a healthy bush of corn, which he would have us believe never ceased to live. 'This, Sir,' said he, with great self-satisfaction, 'is the plant produced from the *Mâ-vi*-rice, thrown by Siri Sangabo at the time he partook of the traveller's hospitality. This never ceases to exist, when one withers, another shoots up.' 'Yes, of course,' said I, promptly, 'if you don't reap the corn it is sure to drop down and shoot again.' The Priest would not understand the solution of the mystery, nor did he seem to relish the explanation. I was not therefore over-anxious to ridicule a notion, perhaps honestly entertained by one, who paid me much attention, and who treated me with great courtesy. I therefore changed the subject of our conversation, and he took us to another side and pointed out to us an outline of a head and feet—emblems engraved on the rock. 'This,' he declared, 'was the indentical spot where the old king cut off his head. These marks were of course made in subsequent times to preserve the tradition respecting the spot.' We then inspected a large granite slab 2×8 feet, standing in the centre of the compound and containing traces of an Inscription defaced from atmospheric influences. This is probably the one erected by *Patirâja*.—(See extract from the *Maha Vansa* in the Preface, ante p. clxxviii.) After an unsuccessful attempt to decipher even a word of this inscription, we proceeded to the *Bauddha-house*, which is close to the rocky pool. Here too desolation and ruin reigned supreme: the figures and images were all partially broken,—and even the granite images of Buddha mentioned at cap. xi. § 10, had wholly disappeared.

We next inspected a little *Dewâla*, a very modern structure. There was nothing remarkable about it, except some drawings on its walls, which were pointed out to us as the portraits of Sir Edward Barnes, and the late Abraham D'Saram, Esq., 2nd Maha Modliar—representations which, though rude and unfaithful, yet exhibited the genuine feeling of gratitude, respect and esteem felt for two of the greatest Statesmen of the times in which the Temple was repaired.

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Casting a glance at the stately Bô which occupies a corner of the terrace, and which was stated to have been a branch of the sacred Bô at Anurádhapura, we descended a flight of steps on the south of this elevation, and proceeded to the adjacent rocks, which tradition affirms King Sanghabodhi selected for his hermitage. They consisted of two large granite boulders, one over-hanging the other and the ground below, so as to render it a secure habitation free from sun and rain. It almost realized to the mind Shakspeare's description of the

—' hallow'd, gloomy cave, with moss o'ergrown,
The temple join'd of Nature's pumice stone.'

Though not so large as the rocks of *Aluvihàra* at *Mátalé*, and though, as in the latter no

——— ' antique images by priests were kept,
And wooden deities securely slept;'

yet there was the sameness of appearance in the formation of a cave by the overhanging brow of a granite boulder which had precipitated from the rocks above. Except this, there was little to see here beyond the sleeping apartments of another section of priests belonging to the establishment, and the surrounding vegetation consisting chiefly of the *Kaneru*, planted for the sake of its flowers. We then proceeded to partake of the kind hospitality of the Modliar of the district; but, before quitting the premises there was one other spot which I desired to see, it was the *Vidhavâ Vana* (See Note 4, cap. ix.) The surprise of the priests was indeed great when I asked them to show me this place. They seemed to wonder how I had known this name; and from this circumstance I concluded that they were not conversant with the *Attanagaluvansa*.

They took me to a little distance and pointed at the direction of a paddy field called *Kanavenduma*, bearing in the vernacular Sinhalese nearly the same sense as the name given to it in the Pálí work, and its Sinhalese translation. This is the spot, as the reader is aware, where the Queen of Sanghabodhi rested; and on inquiry, with a view to test the accuracy of the descriptions in the history before us, I ascertained that during heavy rains, the surrounding country still exhibited white sandy spots, on one of which, close upon a "blooming shrubbery," the Queen is stated to have spent the night before her death.—Cap. ix. § 1.

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CHAPTER EIGHTH.

1. A few days after the accession of Goṭhábhaya to the throne, he had a misgiving that 'by reason of his wickedness, the disaffected populace might at some (future) period attempt to bring back and restore to the kingdom Sanghabodhi, who had entered the forest'; and thinking, that 'it was advisable to have him killed,' proclaimed in the city by beat of tom-tom, that 'a thousand[1] shall be the reward of him who would bring the head of king Sanghabodhi.'

Shortly afterwards, a certain poor person of the Malayá country, on some affairs of his own, travelled in a jungle path carrying (with him) his parcel[2] of food; and at meal-time saw king Sanghabodhi near a rocky-pool. Being much pleased with his deportment, (the traveller) invited him to (partake of) his repast. The king declined the offer. The peasant repeated his entreaties, saying, 'O good and virtuous (man), I am not a person born of a low caste. I am neither a hunter; nor am I a fisher who lives by life-slaughter.[3] Nay, I am born of a family with whom persons of high lineage may (with propriety) eat. This food is my own, and it is fit to be partaken of.'

2. The king still declined; saying, 'The trees afford me an habitation by their shade, their boughs a seat, their bark clothing, and their fruits and leaves food.'

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3. 'Thus, I, who am happy with the bounties (of nature), have no desire for the things of others. Neither by reason of thy caste, is there any disgrace to me.'[4]

4. The peasant thereupon prostrated himself on the ground, and bowing, fervently, implored (that the king might share with him his food). Unable any longer to disregard the man's importunities,[5] the king partook of the food that was respectfully, and according to approved usages, offered (to him), and also the water which was strained through his own water strainer. After he had taken the food, and had washed his hands and mouth,[6] the king, thinking, 'I have received a favor of this person, how shall I testify my gratitude to him?' called him to his presence, and inquired of him regarding the state of affairs at Anurádhapura. The peasant (replied) —'It is rumoured that the Prince named Gothábhaya having expelled the former king, has assumed the kingdom, and has issued a proclamation in the city by beat of tom-tom, that a thousand shall be the reward of him who will bring the head of king Siri Sanghabodhi.'

5. Immediately on (hearing) his words, (the king) with a heart (full of) pleasure and delight, reflected,— 'By the gift of my-head-worth-a-thousand, even now may my sense of gratitude be testified to him; and by reason of the same being an *ajjhattika** *dàna* the requirements of *dàna paramità*† may be fulfilled. Hah! Hark!'[7]

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* See note to cap. vi. § 11.

† The accomplishment of this páramitá, or pre-eminent virtue proceeding from the gift of the ajjhattika.—See cap. v. §3. Of man's religious duties, which may be divided into three, Dána or alms-

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6. 'The heads of the dead are not worth so much as a rotten *areka-nut;* yet (the offer of) my head will contribute both to the pecuniary benefit of (this) traveller, and to (the attainment) of Buddhahood.'

7. Moreover;—'Misery is (indeed) experienced by me by the nourishment of (this) body, productive of pain like a sinuous ulcer, and which is distinguished for its loathsome impurities. By the doing of that which is good, I shall indeed fructify it.'[8]

Having thus reflected, he said, 'O man I am that king named *Siri Sanghabodhi.* Take away my head; and present it to the king.' (When the peasant) had heard this, he replied, 'Please your Highness, I am incapable of so great a sin—I am afraid.'[9]

8. 'Fear not,' said the king; 'I myself shall devise a means for obtaining for thee the thousand *Kahapana.* Do thou only act up to my instructions.' The labourer,[10]

giving is the first and foremost; and it is pointed out as that which brings in a large amount of merit; see cap. iv. § 7. 'It is better to give than to receive.' Dána is also a means of postponing the effects of sin. Indeed 'charity covereth a multitude of sin.'—It is not only commendable, but it produces a healthy conscience. The Buddhist is not insensible to the fact that something is necessary to be done in order to destroy admitted conscious guilt; and he is therefore easily persuaded to the belief that Dána, which includes all *gifts* on account of religion, will wipe away sin. In this category of meritorious acts may be included 'the sacrifice of one's life'—death—not what the Christian regards as Martyrdom; death—not as a testimony borne to the truth; death—not as a suffering in vindication of the unrestrained exercise of one's Faith; but *death*, voluntary destruction, self-immolation, or self-inflicted homicide, as a sacrifice for sin, a *pûjá*, or a propitiation, by which merit is acquired, and demerit may be postponed. Hence the death of Sanghabodhi in the narrative before us.

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eager (to obtain) the reward of a thousand, consented; when, the king, not having an instrument for decapitation, and purposing that by the power of his intense desire for austerity,[11] he would sever the head from its joint, and give (it to the peasant), sat firmly down cross-legged,[12] and with a preconceived cheerful aspiration, —'May this offer of my head conduce to the attainment of *Buddhahood*!'[13]—called the peasant near him. The traveller (approaching, exclaimed), 'This is an unheard-of thing, one which cannot be easily accomplished; and if this head obtained (under such circumstances) be taken to *Anuràdhapura*, and be presented (to the king), who will recognize it, and who (indeed) will believe it?'

9. The king however bade the peasant 'do as he was desired'; and, having instructed him how to act, said, 'if Go*thá*bhaya shall doubt thy word, I (myself) will be thy witness,* and will obtain (for thee) the reward.† Good man come hither, bend (thyself) down; bring the palms of thy hands together, so as to form an *anjalâ*, and stretch forth thy arms.' So saying he adjusted‡ the wind-pipe by stiffening the blue-jugular-veins and arteries[14] on either side (of the neck), marked the joint of the head with a line drawn with the water of his strainer, and firmly grasped with his hand the top-knot;[15] and, (moreover), hoping that 'until he placed his head on the hand of the traveller, the vitality of the body together with the faculties of the mind[16] might continue unimpaired, he lifted up (the head)

* lit.—'a witness here.'

† lit.—'a thousand.'

‡ lit.—'held erect'; 'fixed upright.'

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straight by the bunch of his hair, when the head was severed; and (the king) holding it in his very grasp, placed it on the palms of the traveller's hands, along with the streams of blood which flowed (from it.) Instantly the tutelary gods of the forest vociferating '*Sàdhu!*' caused showers of flowers[1] to descend, and afforded protection to the head.

10. May the people be satiated by the mellow-fruit of omniscience on the vine-of-his-very-delightful-*pàramità*, that sprang up from the precious-seed-of-his-head, sown on the field-of-the-palm-of-the-traveller, (filled) daubed with the-mud-of-his-blood!'

11. Afterwards, the traveller adorned the head with garlands of fragrant wild flowers, put it in a concavity made of *areka* palm-leaf, and hastening with it to *Anurddhapura*, presented the same to Go*th*àbhaya. Although he inspected it, yet he was doubtful and unable to recognize it. Whereupon the traveller, remembering what the king had prescribed, took up the head, flung it to the sky, and with his clasped hands, facing the (head on the) sky, beseeched; 'Lord king Siri Sanghabodhi, be thou my witness here;' when the (life-less) head, which by the influence of the gods rested in the vacuum of the sky, facing Go-*th*ábhaya, spoke (thus:)

12. 'O king, 'tis I, thy friend—Siri Sanghabodhi. I am happy at the reflection of having given away (my) head. May thy Majesty be likewise (happy) in the enjoyment of thy regal magnificence! and may the peasant be (also happy) by obtaining his reward of a thousand'!

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13. Hearing this, the amazed Goṭhábhaya, with his ministers, prepared a throne, covered it with a white canopy,[17] and invited (the head) saying, 'O illustrious personage, descend thou here.' When it had alighted on the throne, he propitiated the same with various offerings,[18] worshipped it, obtained its forgiveness, performed with a great feast[19] the rites of cremation,[20] and sent away the traveller, giving[21] him the thousand *Kahapana*.

END OF THE EIGHTH CHAPTER,

ON THE BESTOWAL OF AJJHATTIKA.

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NOTES AND ANNOTATIONS.

1. Where there is no specification, *gold* coins are meant in the books. They were called *Kahavanu* or *Kahapana*, (see *Mahavansa*, p. 165); and I believe the Sinhalese retained the same weight that was given to them by Indian kings. A *Kahapana*, which is stated to weigh twenty Maditiya seeds, is five-sevenths of a Sovereign of the British coinage. See *Manu*, viii. 131—8; also post, cap. xi. § 4, note 17.

2. *Puta*, a concavity made of some substance to secure rice or other eatables. It is peculiar to the East. In Ceylon it is made of the inside bark of the Areka leaf, which is torn out from the stem.

3. 'Let him not eat the food of a *hunter*, nor that of an outcast.'—*Manu*, iv. § § 212—13. Here the traveller ventures to disabuse the king's mind of any prejudice he may have against the former, on the supposition of his being a 'fisher' or *slaughterer* of animals—occupations which both Buddhists and Brahmans regard as despicable.—Also see *Manu*, x. 46. 48. The aversion which the Sinhalese Buddhists have to those whose occupations involve the sin of taking away life is indeed not less than the horror with which people generally regard that personage known as "Jack Ketch."

4. The reader will observe that this sentiment, though it is in strict accordance with the tenor of the doctrines of Buddhism, is, nevertheless, far in advance of the age in which Sanghabodhi lived.

5. *Hospitality* is a high social virtue, inculcated by the Buddhists and Brahmans.—*Manu*, iv. 20. The Sinhalese, whatever may be their shortcomings in other matters, cannot be charged with want of hospitality. Here is a peculiar instance of it; and it is really pleasing to find the traveller thus solicitous in regard to the stranger whom he has accidentally met. He suspects not the fact that his companion is a hermit; he knows not that he is a king; he takes him for a traveller like himself; and with that genuine hospitality for which his countrymen are distinguished, he offers a part of his food, and even insists upon his partaking of the same.

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6. The practice of washing one's hands and mouth before and after meals, is a custom still prevalent amongst the Sinhalese.

7. *Idancha vata re.*—This, like the English 'by the bye,' is a peculiar interjection, implying a new idea different from the train of thoughts to which a person has just before given utterance. By the adoption of *re*, the speaker addresses a real or imaginary person of a station lower than himself. Since, here, the words follow a soliloquy of the speaker, I have translated the passage 'Hah! Hark!.'

8. ——————————— 'The *fruit* is great
Which I by liberality may gain.
The man, who on the poor his wealth bestows,
Tho' doomed to pass the lonely road of death,
In heaven shall find a happy safe abode;
And there the gifts upon the needy poured,
Shall be repaid more than a million-fold;
Hence all the wise should so their riches use
As to secure this future recompence."

Nalòdaya, p. 219.

9. *Màbhàyi*, a turn of expression occasionally met with in the Pàli. For the force of *mà* in composition, see my Introduction to *Kachchàyana's Grammar*, cap. i, § 15.

10. *Bhataka purisa*,—'servant,' 'hireling,'—but it indicates here a man of the *labouring* class, and I have accordingly rendered it 'labourer.'

Dhammà ditthànà teja,—a spell or miraculous power arising from an intense desire for *dhamma*, or the religious observance of austerity.

12. *Pallankan bandhitvâ=paryanka prabaddhya*, Sans., 'seat-knot,' 'seat fixture,' a posture of sitting rendering one's limbs and haunches a firm seat for the body; i. e. sitting on one's haunches, cross-legged like a tailor.—See Professor Wilson's *Hindu Theatre*, vol. I, p. 13.

13. *Sabbaññu ñàna.* 'Wisdom of omniscience.'—See Preface, p. clxi.

14. *Kantha nàla*, means the 'wind-pipe,' the *aspiria arteria.* The medical books speak of thirty-seven vital parts above the trunk,

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of which two are on each side of the trachea. There are four vessels called *nila* (blue) and two *manya;* altogether equal to the *nila dhamaññànan nalìnan* in the text, signifying the blue jugular veins as well as the carrotid arteries. In the Sinhalese version, I observe, this passage has not been correctly rendered by the translator.

15. *Chûla* means a tuft of hair on the top of the head. But *chûla baddhan* here means *dammilla* (see cap. i, § 11.) 'the entire bunch of hair on the head.'

16. *Chitta kiriyà.*—'The operation of the mind'—that which is the result of *Viññànakandha* or 'consciousness.' It is, according to the *Sàstras*, that quality or the power of a being by which he thinks or reasons, and which is intimately connected with the sentient organs. Here the writer means '*the faculties of the mind*' along with the *Vàyo dhâtu vego* (*vàyo*, from *và* 'to go'—'the spirit or air which flows through all parts of the body and performs all its actions;' *dhàtu* 'essential, or vital part;' *vego* 'flame,' 'impetus' 'impulse'), 'the vital air which flows through the body and which produces and sustains the various vital functions of the body,' or in other words—*the vitality of the body.*

17. Like the Parasol of State, the tents erected on festive occasions are all ceiled with a white cloth, indicative of respect. Thus at our weddings and funerals the principal rooms are adorned with a white ceiling.

18. This was purely from a feeling of respect, just like the European practice of throwing boquets of flowers.

19. A funeral feast was, it would seem, as frequent at this period as it is now among the Sinhalese.

20. Anciently no one of any rank or position in society was buried after death. Kings and Priests were invariably burnt. As regards the latter, the practice is still common in Ceylon. More on this subject hereafter.—See note, cap. ix. § 7.

21. *Lit.*—'Satisfying,' 'pleasing'—him (with the reward of) the thousand *Kahapana.*

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CHAPTER NINTH.

1. In the mean time,[1] the Queen-consort of Sirî Sanghabodhi, learning that the king had departed, and thinking 'I too shall go in pursuit of him,' left the city in disguise through the southern gate. Having lost the right path owing to her ignorance of the road, she entered different villages; and still she failed to see her lord; and, through fear and her frailty, she was unable to make (the necessary) inquiries. Supposing, however, that he had gone to the country of Malayâ, she proceeded by a winding path; but being very delicate, was unable to travel fast. In process of time (however, she reached) a village in the vicinity of the forest (into which the king had entered); and, hearing the news of his having given away his head, entered the forest with a sorrowful heart, exclaiming, 'Unfortunate me! I have been deprived even of the very sight of him!' [In this frame of mind] she searched for the corpse of her consort, and inquired of many people in the adjacent villages; and still obtaining no clue (to the discovery) she travelled on. Boys and women of the neighbouring villages, who were in search of fuel, and were tending cattle,[2] hearing her lamentations, and moved by compassionate hearts, joined her in her travels. Thus journeying, (rending the air) with her

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cries, she came upon a pure white sandy (plain covered with a) blooming shrubbery, where she fell down and (began to) roll on the ground, weeping very distressingly.[3] This locality is to this day celebrated, as *Widhavà Vana*,[4] or the 'Widow's Forest.'

2. Weeping very bitterly, she spent the night there. Next day, being distressed with the fire of grief, and unable to bear her affliction, she was going to and fro, when she stumbled into a pond, and was immersed (in water). (Unable to rise) owing to her feebleness, she moved about unconsciously in the water for two or three moments,[5] whereby she recovered and was refreshed. That locality has to this day received the name of *Nibbàna Pokkharanì* or 'the Pond of Repose.'*

3. Rising up from thence, she prosecuted her search from bush-to-bush, from tree to-tree, and from one region of rocks to another, when she met with the dry headless-trunk which lay near a rocky-pool, untouched by jackals, through the might of the gods; and, with a heart as it were rent by the agonies of grief, she fell on it and fondly embraced it. Instantly, from want of nourishment (lit. the difference of her diet), the fatigues of a long journey, and the wounds which she had received by falls at various places, she fainted and expired.

4. People of the neighbouring villages (hearing this), assembled; and, resolving that 'it would be improper for them even to touch[6] the bodies of the inaugurated king and queen, and that it would ill-become them to perform the rites of cremation without informing

* See note 26 to cap. vi.

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the ruling prince'—went away after erecting a tent to protect (the corpse) against (the effects of) the sun and rain, and also a fence to prevent the entrance of animals.

5. Goṭhàbhaya, recollecting the virtues of king Siri Sanghabodhi, which were both many and unrivalled by others, (reflected) that, 'none could be so heartless as not to be pleased by (the remembrance of) them (viz.) —his adherence from his infancy to the *three wealths*,* the continual maintenance of the *Sìla*, his proficiency in (the doctrines of) Buddhism, his skill in all the practical Arts,[7] denunciation by him of the kingdom, his desire for alms-giving, and his other difficult-to-be-achieved acts, such as the subjugation of the demon, etc.' Moreover, 'the gift to the poor traveller of his head severed by his own hand from the wind-pipe, so as to ensure for him the reward of a thousand (pieces of money), the resting of that very head in the vacuous sky, and his most distinctly (uttered) speech conveying the intentions of his mind, are (verily) wonderful and rare matters that have not been seen or heard till now. Their (memory) will indeed last along with the very odium of my great wickedness. Alas! by the voice of such a reproach that will last long, I shall be (an object of) contempt amongst good people. Moreover, after wresting the kingdom from a person who has ever been my excellent friend,—one so illustrious, innocent, and mighty, (as Sanghabodhi), I have (been wicked enough) to seek his life. (Verily) I have committed† an act of treachery to a friend.' Thus agitated by emotions of

* See note 14, cap. ii. § 2.

† Lit.—'I have been bound by.'

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fear and distress; and moreover sweating, and trembling, he pondered,—'How shall I be released from such a great sin?'

6. It occurred to him that highly meritorious acts (alone), could, as a punishment, expiate the same. Whereupon, summoning his Ministers and consulting them, he with the full concurrence of the clergy (upon such a course), and, escorted by large forces, proceeded to the Jungle (where the dead bodies lay). Having encamped near it, he himself went to a clean spot of ground,[8] which had witnessed the noble conduct* of Sanghabodhi, and pitched upon a suitable place near the rocky-pools. There exercising his regal influence, he decorated the place of cremation like the city of the gods, and raised a high pile of very large sandal wood. He then caused artists to make of *Jambunadi*[9] gold a likeness of the king's head, including (the region of) his wind-pipe, according to (their) weight and size. He joined it to the headless body; and placed upon it a crown set with various lustrous gems. Having likewise adorned the queen, he clothed both (bodies) with rich silk, equal (in texture) to the cloth of *Kasi*,[10] and laid them on a gold couch (also) studded with many gems. This he placed on the pile of sandal, and, having poured on it many hundred pots of ghee, set pure glowing fire[11] to the same; and, surrounded by many Khattiya princes, the king himself superintended the rites of cremation.[12]

7. On the second day he caused a great multitude of people to extinguish the fire of the funeral pile; and, thinking it desirable to erect on that spot a *chetiya*,

* Lit.—'the non-feasible acts of the great personage.'

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with a house surrounding it, summoned his ministers. Deliberating (however) that,—'though it is *now* possible to erect with very gold a commodious circular building of many stories; yet from want of attention* it may in after-times fall into decay, or from the love of gold it may be destroyed by those who pillaged the country; that it is therefore proper without loss of time to construct a *chetiya* and a circumambulent house of ordinary dimensions, such as may be easily maintained, and such as may not be an object of cupidity,'—he accordingly caused the people to build a circular house of two stories. When it had been completed, he deposited therein relics of Buddha, and constructed a *chetiya* worthy of adoration.

On the day of consecration, having exhibited it to the priesthood, he addressed them (as follows): 'Lords, this prince Siri Sanghabodhi formerly ruled Lankà, under one canopy. Now [that he is no more], as a canopied-canopy over the monumental figure (erected) for the very renown (of his) body, I have constructed a circular house of two stories; and, as if it were a crown on his head,—I have surmounted the *chetiya* with a gold pinnacle. I have thus made him an object of adoration and worship by all gods and men.' So addressing, he dedicated for (the benefit of) the establishment connected with the *chetiya*, many villages and fields and more than a thousand attendants.[13] At the foot of the hill, he caused to be constructed various monasteries, comprising many hundreds of mansions, universities,[14] walking apartments, nocturnal and

* 'In the absence of persons to protect it.'

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diurnal dwellings, lecture rooms, walls, porches* etc.; and, for the continual maintenance of the many thousand *Sanghas* and *bhikkhûs* residing there, he bestowed many villages and fields with labourers for the same. Having then ordained the Khattiya princes in the presence (*lit.* midst) of the people, that 'this great temple, which is a banner set upon *Mahâ Lekha ratta*,[15] and a lineal inheritance to the Khattiya race, who are entitled to the sovereignty of Lankà, shall be protected and maintained by all the *Khattiyas*,' he returned to *Anuràdhapura;* and, for alleviating the rigour of his sins, he performed many acts of merit (piety) both small and great in various temples. From thence the great temple of *Hattha-vanagalla* has continued at different intervals to be repaired, and to be maintained, by great ministers of state as well as by Khattiya Princes, who have assumed the Sovereignty of Lanka.

END OF THE NINTH CHAPTER

ON THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE ROTUNDA.

* Entrance-gates.

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NOTES AND ANNOTATIONS.

1. The reader will perceive that I have divided a long sentence which forms the whole of § 1, into several sentences. In doing so, here as in other places, I have found it necessary to be a little more free in the translation, than I have generally been.

2. As we learn from the Sinhalese poets, the tending of cattle and the gathering of fire-wood, were peculiarly the occupations of women and children of old; and every traveller knows that even now women, like idle boys, are frequently met with in the woods, collecting fire-wood.

3. 'They mourned with a great and very sore lamentation.' Gen. i. 10.

4. Whilst noticing the philological relationship between *Widhavà* (Pàli,) and *Widow* (English,) I may remark that this locality, like the pond, *Nibbàna Pokkharani*, mentioned ante § 2, is known to this day.—See note 26 to cap. vi.

5. *Muhutti.*—Strictly this is equal to several minutes; but I believe it is also used, in the sense in which the Sinhalese vulgarly employ *mohota*, to express 'a moment.'

6. A remarkable instance of that servile homage which the people in the East pay to the nobility or royalty.

7. *Kalà kosallan*,—'skill in the practical arts and sciences,'—mechanical or fine; of which 64 are mentioned in the books, such as carpentering, cookery, architecture, jewellery, farriery, acting, dancing, music, medicine, poetry, rhetoric, grammar, prosody, astronomy, etc., etc.

8. *Puññatthànan*,—lit. 'a fortunate or lucky place,' 'a place destined for the acquisition of merit.—See note, cap. i. § 4. This was doubtless 'the clean spot of ground' selected by Brahmans for a funeral pile.—See *Colebrooke's Essays*, vol. ii. p. 152.

9. *Jambunadi*,—a species of gold in great esteem amongst Buddhist writers, called after a river flowing from mount Sumeru, the Indian Poctolus.

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10. This is the modern Benares—a country very famous in ancient times for its fine linen. Frequent mention is made of it in both Buddhist and Hindu works.—See *Hardy's Manual on Buddhism*, p. i.

11. *Parisuddha joti pavakàn jàletva*,—'having set unpolluted fire.' This is clearly a Brahman rite, of using consecrated or unpolluted fire.—See *Colebrooke's Essays*, 11, p. 157.

12. The funeral ceremonies of the Buddhists, like those concerning the inauguration of their Kings, were, anciently, not different from those of the Brahmans. [See an interesting account of the same by Professor H. H. Wilson, in the J. R. A. S., vol. xvi, p. 201; also Colebrooke's Works, ii. 172; and the account in the *Parinabban Suttan.*] The wealthiest amongst the former, like other nations, burned their dead, and entombed the ashes.

Mœrentes altum cinerem et confusa ruebant,
Ossa focis tepidoque ornabant aggere terræ.

The practice is still current amongst the Sinhalese; and the last cremation that took place in the town of Colombo was in 1837, when the remains of Mahawalatenna, the first Sinhalese Adigar, were burnt, and a monument erected on the spot. As here stated, where the husband and wife were both burnt, and especially when one of them had died a voluntary death, cremation was an indispensable rite of Oriental nations. The building so erected is called a *chetiya*, which is the same as the Hindustàni *chihetrí*, 'a building for meditation,' 'a memorial or monumental erection.' The existence of *chetiyas*, in the time of Gotama, appears from the Buddhistical works.—See my remarks in my *Lecture on Buddhism*, p. 22.

13. *Parivàra jana*,—'Attendants, followers, retinue, labourers, subjects'—'those who are to cultivate for the benefit of the temple the lands dedicated.' These are the *nilakàrayas* known in the Kandian districts.

14. *Sanghàràma*,—lit 'garden for priests' or 'monastic establishment,' containing *pasàda* 'mansions,' *parivena*, [I have no distinct authority for the translation of this word in the text; but the result of my reading leaves no doubt in my mind that it means] 'universities,' or 'scholastic establishments.' The walking apartments were intended for those engaged in meditation; and the

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dharrma sàlà were 'lecture rooms,' where the Scriptures were read, and expounded, by priests. By *diurnal* and *nocturnal* dwellings are doubtless meant houses for the occupation of the priests during the day, and night; or 'sitting-rooms' and 'dormitories.'

15. *Mahâ-Lekha-ratta.*—'The great country of writing.' Probably this was a term in use amongst the Sinhalese to denote some particular city as *the seat of learning*. Thus we find in the Holy Scriptures, *Kirjath-sepher*, 'city of book, or writing,' and *Kirjath-sannah* 'city of learning;' Josh. xv. 15, 49; supposed to have been 'a seat of learning and a seminary for the education of priests.'

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CHAPTER TENTH.

1. At a certain period, in after times, one of the *Mahà theras* from amongst the *bhikkhûs* and *sanghas* residing in this temple, sat in a vacant space,* in a certain region, within the precincts of the temple, and whilst engaged in meditation, was absorbed in the *Vipassanan*,† and attained the sanctified status of *arahanta*, filling the sky with the noise of the earth.[1]

2. At this time *Upatissa*,[2] who was king, hearing at night that terrible noise of the earth, distressfully (exclaimed) 'What will happen to me!' He also became restless and distressed. Whereupon, the goddess presiding over his state-canopy said, 'Mahà Ràjà, fear not. This (portends) nothing unpropitious to thee; for (it simply indicates) that a *Mahâ thera* in the temple of *Atthavangalla* has attained the (sanctified state of an) *arahantha*.' 'What can be the cause,' inquired (the king) 'of the earth making a noise at the period of his entering into arahat-hood.' She satisfied (the king by replying), that 'that *Mahâ thera* in a previous (existence) had performed many meritorious acts, expressing

* *Abbhokàsiko*, 'vacant space,'—without covering.

† *Vipassana*—[from *vi* 'to distinguish,' 'separate,' or 'analyze' the qualities of an object; and *passana* 'preception,'] meditation upon a particular object, *e. g.* the human body with reference to its different constituent parts.

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an ardent desire, that he might attain to the state of an *Arahat*, attended by a noise in the earth and the sky, and that this was the consummation of that desire.'

3. Hearing this, the king with pleasure pondering, that 'the conquest which this (*Mahà thera*) had made over *kilesa*[3] was indeed superior to that[4] of other priests,' worshipped that *Mahà thera*, and resolved that he would by constructing an edifice, make a propitiation[5] of that spot of ground, which was the seat of the aforesaid happy result.'[6] So resolving, he proceeded to that locality with a great retinue, and there constructed a large mansion of five stories, which he covered with gilt-copper sheets, embellished with different works of painting,[7] and finished it like a habitation of the gods. This done he returned (to Anuràdhapura), after settling in it that inspired Mahà thera, together with other *bhikkhûs* and *sanghas*, and also after offering to them the four *pachchayà*,[8] and endowing the establishment with villages and fields together with (necessary) labourers.

4. Long time afterwards, some robbers of the *Malaya* district assembled together and pillaged the villages; and being elated by the acquisition of riches (thus acquired) they hired a force* and captured a large portion of the country. Subduing the King's (power), and acting without any control, they plundered many a large temple, destroyed the great mansion [at Attanagalla], and took (its) golden-tiled roof.

5. At this time one named Moggallàna was king. Hearing of this (disturbance,) he sent out spies to them, and by means of gifts, conciliation, and dissensions,

* Lit.—'raised a force for money.'

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created factions amongst the thieves.[10] They disuniting, fought amongst themselves, and were enfeebled. When the King had been informed of their discord, he went thither with his forces, and captured the several parties and punished them. Having then proclaimed peace, he restored order into the country, and repaired the temples which (the rebels) had damaged. Hearing (also) that at the time they robbed (its) gold, they had laid waste the great mansion (itself); and apprehending a similar calamity, if he should cover it with gold sheets as heretofore, he built as at first an edifice of three stories, and covered it with earthern sheets (flat tiles); and having also repaired the circumambient house, and restored the temple-garden (to its original condition), he returned (to the capital.)

END OF THE TENTH CHAPTER

ON THE ORIGIN OF THE TEMPLE.

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NOTES AND ANNOTATIONS.

1. An earth-quake is here meant. This is explained by Gotama to be the result of various causes. The first he explains thus: 'The great earth rests on water, the water is sustained by the wind, and the wind by the air (or atmosphere); and when a storm prevails, a *natural* earth-quake is produced.' A preternatural earth-quake he ascribes to a series of causes proceeding from the miraculous powers possessed by those who have attained a state of sanctity which is the case here. The other causes of this phenomenon are similar to the last. The reader is referred to the *Pannibban Suttan* in the Beng. A. S. Journal.

2. Upatissa.—This is another religious enthusiast who reigned in Ceylon, 368—410, A. D. He too, like Sanghabodhi, dismissed offenders with presents. See *Mahavansa*, pp. 247—50; also Upham's *Rajaratnakara*, pp. 73—4.

3. 4. and 6. The Pàli words for those to which these notes are appended, are respectively the following:—*kilesa-wijaya; arahattappatti*, and *àsavakkhàya*, synonymous terms of the attainment of the sanctification of an *arahanta*.

5. *Sammànissàmi*,—'will render it an object of worship.'

7. *Painting* was known to the Hindus and Sinhalese from a very early age. In the Buddhistical annals we find that that art, as well as the use of vermilion, was known in the lifetime of the sage. See extracts in *Kachchàyana's Pàli Grammar*, pp. 76, 101. But, Sir James E. Tennent, after remarking that the use of oil in connection with art, was known before the sixth century, states that 'the *Mahavansa* affords evidence of an earlier knowledge, and records that in the second century before Christ, "vermilion paint mixed with tela oil was employed in the building of the Ruanwelli dàgoba."' 'This,' he adds, 'is therefore the earliest testimony extant of the use of oil as a medium for painting, and till a higher claimant appears, the distinction of the discovery may be permitted to rest with the Singhalese.'—*History of Ceylon*, i., pp. 490—1.

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8. The four *pachchàya* are the requirements of an Ascetic, viz., robes, food, habitation, and medicine.

9. The above account is fully corroborated by the *Ràja Ratnâkara*, which states that 'the king who succeeded [Kassapa] was called Mugalan. He rebuilt the temple of *Attanagalla*, (where a temple of five stories had formerly been constructed, but which had fallen to the ground,) causing it to be composed of three stories; and gave the same to the priests in general. He also built a *dàgoba*, as a receptacle for the rites of Buddha; besides which, he built many sanctuaries for the Priests; and served the word and religion.'

10. The four means of success in war, are stated to be *dàna* 'gifts,' 'bribes,' *sáma*, 'conciliatory conduct,' *bheda*, 'dissensions,' and *dande*, 'punishment.' The sowing of dissensions amongst the enemy, as a matter of military tactics, was resorted to by eastern nations. Of this a remarkable instance is given in the Buddhistical annals, and I give the following from the *Parinibban suttan*, and its *Atthakathá*.

The inhabitants of Vesàli (modern Alahabad,) who were called Vajjians, were a race so powerful that they were regarded with jealousy and uneasiness by Ajâtasatta, the monarch of the neighbouring state. He therefore sought to reduce them to subjection, but dared not carry his designs without consulting Gotama, who had established his doctrines in *Vesáli*. The king therefore dispatched a minister to Gotama, intimating his intention to 'subjugate the Vajjian rulers and utterly to anihilate them.' Gotama, without making a reply, entered into a conversation with Ananda, his favorite disciple, in the course of which he took occasion prominently to lay before the minister the true greatness of the Vajjian Princes, who from the causes stated by Gotama were successful and invulnerable. Those causes are stated to have been the rigid observance of several "imperishable precepts," which Gotama himself had proclaimed to them; viz. that they frequently held meetings, and constantly assembled in great numbers;—that there was much agreement and concert in their acts, and that they were strong in union, and firm in the profession of their faith;—that they were averse to innovations, unwilling to set aside their existing institutions, and most solicitous to uphold their venerable constitution;—that

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they implicitly obeyed the injunctions of their elders, and supported and reverenced their (sayings or) orders;—that they resisted the unholy claims of Princes to their wives and daughters, and refused to pander to the sinful and degrading enjoyments of their rulers;—that they maintained their religious establishment at an enormous expense, making to them offerings without diminution;—and that they provided security, safety, and protection to their sanctified Saints. These details, to which the minister listened with breathless attention, were such as to deter him from recommending the project which his Sovereign had in view, and to prompt him to suggest 'the only course which remained for the Magadha Monarch—either to propitiate by tributes; or, without resort to war, to dissolve the compact which united him with the Vajjian Princes,'—a suggestion with the propriety of which Gotama fully coincided.

On its being communicated however, to the King, he disapproved of it. He was too proud to pay tribute, and lacked the courage to declare war. Of all the traits of character pourtrayed by Gotama, those which had reference to 'the zeal, devotion, and indomitable spirit, and the unanimity' of the Vajjians, weighed most powerfully on his mind. Their courage could perhaps be met with equal courage on the part of the Magadha forces; yet the 'union' of the former invested them with additional 'strength.' This therefore he sought to destroy, and this he ultimately did by means of a stratagem which was carried out by his minister *Vassakára*. It was in this wise.

The minister, upon the pretence that he was discarded by Ajàtasatta, obtained admission into the Federal states of Vesàli. Having in process of time secured the love and esteem of the Vajjian rulers, he obtained the office of Magistrate, and continued to discharge his duties with ability and justice.

He who had thus acquired the reputation of a virtuous character on a certain day, taking aside one of the *Lichchhawi* rulers, (mysteriously) asked him: Do people plough a field?—Yes, they do. By coupling a pair of bullocks together? Yes, by coupling a pair of bullocks together. Another (of the *Lichchhawi* rulers) having inquired, what is it that the *Achariya* has mysteriously been saying? and on its being explained to him, incredulous, he 'remarked, he will

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not confide the truth to me,' and quarrelled with that person. The Brahman, upon another occasion taking another *Lichchhawi* aside, significantly asked: With what curry did you eat (your rice)? and said no more. Another, having been told what was said, also incredulous, similarly quarrelled with that person. The Brahman, upon a subsequent occasion, taking another *Lichchhawi* aside, asked him in a whisper,—Art thou a beggar? He inquired, Who has said so?—and the Brahman replied: That *Lichchhawi*. Again upon another occasion, taking another aside, he inquired: Art thou a coward? and on being asked Who said so? he mentioned the name of some other *Lichchhawi*. Thus by telling one person that which no other person had ever said, he in the course of three years, so completely disunited these rulers one from another, that no two of them would walk in the same road together.

After he had thus sown the seeds of dissension amongst the Vajjians, *Ajàtasatta* experienced no difficulty in capturing their state. He declared open war; but the Vajjians were much too divided to act "in concert;" and the consequence was, that, as "a house which is divided against itself, cannot stand," the Vajjians surrendered themselves and became subject to the rule of Magadha.*

* For further details, the reader is referred to the Bengal A. S. J., Vol. vii., pp. 994-5.

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CHAPTER ELEVENTH.

1. WHEN, in process of time, there was merely the halo-of-renown[1] of the many enterprizing, powerful, and valiant kings of Lankà, who were an ornament to this Island, and who were greatly attached to the three-gems;[2] when, too, there were only weak and feeble (non-enterprizing) sovereigns, who had deviated from the path of laws, regardless of the regulations for the protection of the kingdom; when, also, the ministers were like their rulers, and created dissensions amongst themselves;—by reason of some terrible sin, which had been previously committed by the people of Lankà, hostile forces, of different countries, ignorant of the religion of Buddha, imbued with sentiments of *Michchhàditthi*,[3] arrived here from *Jambudhîpa*, and, by sore* afflictions reduced the entire land into confusion.

2. Greatly oppressed by these hostile forces, many thousands of people, including princes, ministers, etc., left with fear their cities, villages and market-towns; and, with a view to their own safety, betook themselves with difficulty to different inaccessible mountains, etc. The priests, who were the protectors of the tooth-relic of Buddha, taking the same and the refective dish (of

* lit. 'many.'

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that sage,) proceeded to the inaccessible, impenetrable hilly country named *Kunta malayà*;[4] and, unable to protect them, and to perform the necessary attentions to the same, buried it in the ground, and went away in different ways.

3. In after times (there was) a king named *Vijayabâhu*, the legitimate son[4] of *Vijaya Malla*, descendant of the grand-sons and great-grand-sons of the Princes, of a family equal to Asoka,[6] who accompanied the glorious *Mahà-bodhi*, the royal tree sent afore by [the said] king *Dhammà Soka*, a very tilaka[7] of the Solar race, and the emperor of the whole continent of India. He, (Vijayabàhu) was acquainted with all the usages[8] of other (countries). He was well versed in the laws of state. He had powerful armies and chariots. He built a city called *Jambuddoni*,[9] and resided there; and by means of his great forces, overcame (his) enemies, and caused to be brought from the locality of *Malayà*, the venerable tooth-relic of Buddha, and his refective dish. He caused to be built a highly splendid edifice, like unto a mansion of the gods; deposited therein those two relics, and, with great endowments,* affectionately maintained the same. He offered unto the 84,000 *dhammakhanda* of Buddha,[10] an equal number of *kahapana*,† and performed highly meritorious acts for the (promotion of) Buddhism. By way of restoring what had been dilapidated, he firmly constructed, from the three floral altars (at its base,) the great *chetiya* in the circumambulant edifice built by king Gothàbhaya,

* *Upahàra*—'gifts, attentions, offerings, religious ceremonies, etc.'

† See note 1, cap. viii. § 1.

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as an ornament to the Atthavanagalla Vihâra, which was in the delightful spot, filled with the dust of many thousand *arahanta's* feet, and which was destined for the achievement[11] of the offering of the head of king *Dhammika Siri Sanghabodhi;*—(a chetiya) which the heretical foes from *Chòla, Kerala,* etc.,[12] who pillaged the country of old, had destroyed by stealing (its) gold, gems, etc., being the very heart that remained after the venerable relics[13]-of-life had vanished upon the destruction of its-belly-like-base. And after he had celebrated a great festival for surmounting the *thûpa* with a golden pinnacle, he bestowed villages, fields, etc., with the (necessary) labourers (for the benefit of the Monastery), ordained a continual offering of alms to the *bhikkhûs* residing there, and thus firmly (re-) established the great Temple of Atthavanagalla.

4. When the mere memory* of this king had survived him, his son named Parakkamabâhu,[14] was inaugurated king, in the 1824th year from the period at which our adorable, sanctified, omniscient, supreme Buddha, after sitting under the *Bôdhi,* and overcoming the forces of *Màra,*† had attained to the preeminent Buddhahood. He protected the people by many a *Sanghâ vatthu.*[15] He always pleased many thousands of Bhikkhûs and Sanghas by the bestowal of the *chatuppachchaya.*‡ He overcame the martial pride of his royal enemies by the power of his arms.[16] He caused to be made for the venerable tooth-relic a gem-

* *Kitti Sarìra.*—lit. 'the body of renown.'

† See Preface, p. clvii.

‡ 'The four necessaries for a recluse,—food, robes, habitation, and medicine.'

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set casket, dazzling with the splendour of inestimable jewels; a gold casket of 5,000 *Suvanna*,[17] and a silver casket of 25,000 pieces of silver. With a good and cheerful mind, and at an auspicious period, he incased them (in each other.) He beautifully decorated his own city and the temple set apart for the tooth-relic. With preconceived respect he took up the relic, and remembering the acts of Buddha, fervently worshipped the same, by saying, 'My pair of ears has been satiated with the very ambrosial flavour of the existing legend, 'that many kings of old were delighted at the exhibition of wonderful fêtes." Even at the present time, may my eyesight be gratified by some miraculous phenomenon!'

5 Immediately the tooth-relic in the form of a *ràja hansì*, exhibited a miracle in the lotus-hand of the king. To explain:—As the *Bodhisatta* in his last incarnation, and at his very birth from the mother's womb, and at the instant of his descent into a thin coil of cloth [*chumbata*]* presented by the hands of illustrious men, seemed to all mankind, though a *very babe*, as one who had approached his sixteenth year; though *naked*, as one adorned with numerous virtues and ornaments; and though *walking* on the ground, as one who moved in the sky;[18] so likewise, at this period the venerable tooth-relic, dazzling like a figure (embellished) with the beautiful lineaments of Buddha's body, and emitting an assemblage of rays,[19] created a pleasing sensation in the minds of the people there assembled. It is [also] said—

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* For an explanation of this Pàli word, see Preface, p. xxii.

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6. 'That the tooth-relic, like unto a *ràja hansì* in the lotus-hand of Lankà's king, assuming the figure of Buddha, dazzling with (the effulgence of) many an assemblage of rays, embellished all the sides and their intermediate points; and that[20]—

7. 'The king, seeing this wonder, and being highly delighted, as at the sight of a *Chakka ratana*,[21] offered unto the unrivalled tooth many estimable gems, jewels, etc."[22]

8. Afterwards when his desires had been gratified[23] by the tooth-relic of Buddha, the valiant, formidable, mighty, and great king Parakkamabàhu overcame[24] many thousands of Chola and Kerala forces, together with their Sovereigns, who had occupied the city of *Pulatthi** and had destroyed the religion of the world.† Together with his neighbouring allies,‡ [he also vanquished] the rapacious, the invincible, *Chandabhànu*,[25] of powerful martial forces (and chariots,) and as formidable as a lion[26] amongst the elephants-of-kings of different countries;—a king who had deceived the whole world under the pretence of protecting men and religion, and who, moreover, arrived (here) from the country of *Tambalinga* with the object of taking the kingdom of Lankà. Having set up one canopy over the entire Lankà, he extended his protection to the people and religion to double the extent his royal sire had done. On a certain occasion wishing to give

* Polonnoruva.

† 'The world,' is used in several places in this paragraph to express 'men' or 'people.'

‡ *Sa sámanta* 'allies.'

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Kathinu[27] robes to the priests, he bestowed eighty *Kathina* robes which had been manufactured in the course of one day by going through the entire process of cleaning the cotton and of making the thread, etc.,[28] together with many valuable *garubhanda*,[29] and other provisions necessary for priests. He thus filled the ten points,[30] with the congratulatory voice* of the people.

9. Accomplishing many similar ostentatious meritorious deeds, this monarch *Parakkama* built a great *chetiya* in the Monastic Establishment of Hattavanagalla, on the spot wherein the cremation of his royal sire had taken place.[31] Moreover, hearing that the splendid edifice there, which had been occupied by thousands of *Arahantas*, was long neglected, he sent a great minister named *Patiràja deva*,[32] of the family of *Dhanuketaka Vatthu*, who was accomplished in the virtues of Piety, etc., and caused him to spend thousands (of money), and to restore it to its former condition, by beautifully embellishing its floor, walls, etc., with works of art; and to establish the continual bestowal of the gifts of *Pachchaya* to the many *bhikkhûs* resident in it.

10. He afterwards fixed rafters (below the) roof of the ground-story of the circumambient house, and extended the roof on all sides, and converted the two-storied into a three-storied building. Wishing also to construct on this very place a *Bauddha-House*, (of a kind) that had not existed before in Lankà, he dug the ground on the north of the circumambient house, and as deep

* Sàdhu vâdena.

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as a man's-height,* down to the substratum of rocks. After removing the earth (therefrom,) it was caused to be filled with river-sand. Thence from the Elephantine eaves[33] up to the top, he constructed octagonal walls and roofs. The walls being severally embellished with different colours, and bearing on them a row of beam-ends,[34] surrounded with many (statues of) demigods and *Kinnaras*,[35] of such different shapes and forms as to produce mirth and merriment (in the beholder), he constructed on the sides of the entrances many a high ornamental arch-way,[36] built with bricks, plastered with chunam, and adorned with a variety of figures. The inside was neatly finished, embellished with different works (of art,) paintings, (exhibiting) beautiful flower-ornaments, festoons, etc. He (thus) completed a great Temple of three stories, ornamented with a handsome image in a standing posture, like a living Buddha, and on its right another image of Buddha made of solid rock.

THE END OF THE ELEVENTH CHAPTER,

ON THE ORIGIN OF THE OCTAGONAL MANSION.

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* *i. e.*—A man's height, measured from the top of his up-raised hand to the ground.

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NOTES AND ANNOTATIONS.

1. *Kitti-punja*,—'the ball of renown.' Regarding renown as a luminous body or *Kitti-serira* (vide note to § 4,) this may be translated as 'the halo of renown.'

The Buddhists, very probably, conceived the idea of *punja*, from the phenomenon to which 'the name of *antholia* has been given,' and which Sir J. E. Tennent says, 'is to be seen in singular beauty, at early morning in Ceylon. When the light is intense,' (he continues), 'and the shadows proportionately dark,—when the sun is near the horizon and the shadow of a person walking is thrown on the dewy grass,—each particle of dew furnishes a double reflection from its concave and convex surfaces; and to the spectator his own figure, but more particularly the head, appears surrounded by a halo as vivid as if radiated from diamonds.'—*Tennent's Ceylon*, vol. i., p.p. 72-73.

2. *Ratanattaya mámákesu*,—'who has considered the three gems as my (his) own.' *Ratanattaya*,—'three most inestimable things'—'objects as precious as *ratana* or gems.' *Jàtau jàtau yad utkrishtan taddhi ratnam prachakshate*, 'whatever is best of its kind, that indeed they call *ratna*.' Hence 'the three gems' like *vatthutta* 'the three wealths' (cap. ii. § 2, note 14,) is an expression for the triad of Buddhism.

3. *Michchhà ditthi*,—'false or inimical faith,' 'heresy'; a word used to denote any religious belief except the true Faith. It is a word opposed to *Kudditthi*.—See cap. i. § 4, note 8.

4. *Kunatmalayâ*,—the Pàli expression for *Kotmali*, or mountanous country.

5. *Orasa*,—'legitimate son by a mother of the same tribe as the father.' This was Wijayabâhu, a descendant of Sanghabodhi, the idolized monarch of the Historian. According to the *Mahavansa*,

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he reigned between 1235—1266 A. D. The *Ràja Ratnàkara* enumerates the various services he rendered to the people, and to the course of religion.—See *Upham's Works*, vol. ii., p. 94, et seq. The following particulars regarding this prince, and with reference to the allusion in the text, are taken from the unpublished portion of the *Mahâvansa*, *p. to*

Màyà ratthamhi yesanto pàsàdà paṭi màgharà;
Vihàrà parivenàcha tathà chetiya mandapà.
Pàkàrà gopuràdì cha tesan tesan yathà purà;
Tatheva nava kammante kattun ràjà niyojayì.

'The king decreed that all the mansions, image-houses, monasteries, universities, chetiyas, halls, ramparts, arch-ways, etc., which had existed in Màyà, should be restored to their original condition.'

6. It appears from several books, that there were in this island until a very late period of its history, many persons of the Moriya race. These were, as we find from the passage in the text to which this note is appended, the descendants of princes who accompanied the great Bôdhi. Although the *Mahavansa*, at p. 115, states that they were only 'eighteen personages of the royal blood,' another passage, however, in the same work, at p. 120, warrants the belief, that many more 'personages of royal extraction' also followed *Arittha*, the ambassador in charge of the Bodhi.

7. *Tilaka*,—'a spot on the forehead,' made with pulverized sandal. It is considered as an ornament, and as the completion of daily religious duties of certain sects. Thence *tilaka* is an expression used to imply pre-eminence. For examples, see Wilson's *Sanskrit Dictionary*.

8. *Samayantaro*,—'other religious observances or usages.' I believe it is also used to express 'the policy of other nations.'

9. *Jambuddoni*. In the East nearly all names are either descriptive, or have a specific signification. In the translation of names into other languages, the Orientals preserve their *sense*, and not their *sound*, a practice which I regret to find even Europeans have adopted in this country; e. g. 'Seven Korles' for *Sat Korala*; 'Four Korles' for *Satara Korala*; 'Peacock mountain' for *Monaràgala*, etc. Accordingly, the word *Jambuddonì* in the text is a translation of the Sinhalese word *Dambadeni*.

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This was one of the many capitals of Ceylon during the Sinhalese dynasty. I have already referred to *Tambapanni*, the first city founded [543 B. C.] by Wijaya; see note 4 to cap. iii. From thence the Sinhalese Court was removed to *Upatissanuvara*, in 505. Sixty-five years later [437 B. C.] it was established at *Anurâdhapura*, which uninterruptedly continued to be the seat of government until 729 A. D., except during the short reigns of Kassapa [477—495 A. D.] and Kaluna-detussa [648—9 A. D.] at which periods they respectively built *Segiri* and *Devinuvara* (Dondra-head). In 729, Anurâdhapura was abandoned for *Polonnuvara;* and, although Mihindu [1023 A. D.] adopted the former during a reign of thirty-six years, yet, when that prince was taken captive by the Sollians, his successor returned to the latter, which continued the capital of this island until 1235 A. D., when Wijayabâhu built the city mentioned in the text. This lasted only during two reigns of sixty-six years, ending with the reign of Parâkkrama iii., 1303 A. D. Like the temple at Attanagalla, the city of Dambadeniya was thence abandoned for ever, the succeeding Sovereigns retreating to *Yàpahu*, or the *Sat-korala*. From the encroachments and disturbances of the Malabars it was found expedient in later times (1319 A. D.) to remove the seat of government to *Kornegalle*, or *Hastiselapura;* in 1371 A. D., to *Sengadagala* (Kandy) and *Gangasrìpura* (Gampola); in 1410 to *Jayawardhanapura* (Cotta); and finally in 1592 to Kandy, which continued to be the capital, or the *Mahá Nuvara* of the Sinhalese, until 1798.

10. *Dhammakkhanda* are the eighty-four thousand sections or divisions of the entire Buddhist Scriptures. For an explanation of *khanda*, see Colebrooke's *Essays*, vol. i. p. 73. It is said of them by 'Ananda, dvàsìtin buddhato ganhim, dvesahassàni bhikkhuto; chaturàsìti sahassàni, ye me dhammà pavattino.' 'From Buddha himself have I received eighty-two thousand: and from the bhikkhûs two thousand: these are the *eighty-four thousand dhammà* maintained by me.' Zeal in the cause of religion, combined with an equal amount of vanity induced Asoka to build in different parts of India as many monuments as there were *Khandas;* and it was in imitation of his example that Vijayabâhu is here said to have offered to the eighty-four thousand dhammakkhanda an equal number of coins.

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11. *Siddhakkhetta-bhûta.*—See note to cap. i. § 4.

12. The invaders here mentioned were from *Pandi*, the southern peninsula of India, of which Madura was the capital. Chola was the Solî of the Sinhalese, or the modern *Tanjore*. Kerala (Chera) was a province in the Malabar coast.

13. The relics mentioned here are those which were brought down to Ceylon under the circumstances detailed in the following extract from *Dìpavansa*, p. 217.

Gimhàne pa*th*ame màse punnamàya uposathe
'Agatà Jambudìpamhà vasimha pabbat'uttame.

Pancha màsena vutthamhà Tissàràme cha pabbate
Gachchhàma Jambudìpànnan anujàna rathesabha.

Tappesi anna pànehì vattha senàsanena cha.
Saranan gato jano sabbo kuto vo anabhiratì

Abhivàdana pachchu*tth*àwan anjali garudassanan
Chiradi*tth*o mahà ràja sambuddhan dipaduttaman.

Aññàtan vata 'han bhante karomi thùpa m'uttaman
Vijàna bhùmi kappan thùpan karomi satthuno.

Ehi tvan Sumana nagaran Pà*tt*aliputtan gantvàna
Asokan dhamma ràjànan evancha àrochayàhi tvan.

Sahàyo te mahà ràja pasanno Buddha sàsane
Dehi dhàtu varan tassa thùpan kàhati satthuno.

Bahussuto sutadharo subbacho vachanakkhamo
Iddhiyà pàramippatto achale supati*tth*ito.

Patta chìvara' màdàya khane pakkami tan pana
Asoka dhamma ràjànan arochesi yathà tathan.

Upajjhàyassa mahà ràja sunohi vachanan tuvan
Sahàyo te mahà ràja pasanno buddha sàsane
Dehi dhàtu varan tassa thùpan kàhati satthuno.

Sutvàna vachanan ràjà tu*tth*o sanviggamànaso
Dhàtun pattan apùresi khippan gachchhàhi subbata.

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Tato dhàtun gahetvàna subbacho vachanakkhamo
Vehàsan abbhuggantvàna agamà Kosiya santike.

Upasan kamitvà subbato Koseyan etadabruvì
Upajjhayassa mahàràja sunohi vachanan tuvan.

Devànan piyo ràjà pasanno Buddhasàsane
Dehi dhàtuvaran tassa karissati thupa m'uttaman.

Sutvàna vachanan tassa Kosiyo tuṭṭha mànaso
Dakkhinakkhakan pàdàsì khippan gachchhàhi subbata.

Sàmanero cha Sumano gantvà Kosiya santike
Dhakkhinakkhan gahitvàna patiṭṭhito pabbatuttame.

* * * * * * *

Sabhàtuko mahà seno bhikkhu sangha purakkhato
Pachchuggami tadà ràjà Buddha seṭṭhassa dhàtuyo.

Chàtumàse komudiyà divase punnarattiya
'Agatocha mahà vîro gajha kumbhe patiṭṭhito.

Akàsi so kunchanàdan kansatàlan viy'àhatan
Akampi tattha paṭhavì pachchante àgate munì

Sankha panavaninnádo bheri saddo samàhato
Khattiyo parivàretvà pùjesi purisuttaman.

Pachchhà mukho hatthinàgo pakkàmi hatthi sammukhà
Puratthìmena dvàrena nagaran pàvisì tadà
Sabba gandhan cha màlà cha pùjenti naranàriyo.

Dakkhinena cha dvàrena nikkhamitvà gajuttamo.
Kakusandhe cha satthari Konàgamane cha Kassape.
Patiṭṭhite bhùmi bhàge poràna issare pure.*

Dhàtuyo sakya puttassa patiṭṭha pesi naràsabho
Sahapatiṭṭhite dhàtu devà tattha pamodita.

Akampi tattha paṭhavì abbhutan lomahansanan
Sabhàtuko pasàdetvà mahàmachche cha raṭṭhake
Thûpiṭṭhikancha kàresi Sàmanero Sumanavhayo.

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* I have left out a line which is a repetition here.

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'We,' (said Mahinda), who have arrived from Jambudìpa in the first month of the *Gimhàna** season, and on the full-moon Sabbath (day,) have resided in the celebrated mountain. We propose returning to Jambudìpa in the fifth month of our residence in the mountain, and in Tissàràma. O Monarch, permit (us to do) so.

[The king answered and said]; 'All the people have taken refuge. (They) have pleased you with eatables and drinkables, with raiment and habitations. Whence (then) is your dissatisfaction?'

'Monarch,' (replied Mahinda) 'it is very long since Buddha, the chief of the bipeds, was (worshipped by) prostration, by rising from one's seat, by salutation, and by reverent attention.'

'Lord,' (returned Devananpiyatissa), '(what you have said) is indeed understood by me. I shall erect a splendid *Thùpa*. I shall build it for Buddha. Look out for a suitable locality.'

[Whereupon Mahinda thus spoke]: 'Sumana, come hither. Go to the city of Pàṭaliputta, and say thus to king Dhammàsoka; "Mahà ràjà, thy ally has embraced Buddhism. He will build a thùpa for Buddha. Bestow upon him (some) valuable relics."'

'The eloquent, and meek (Sumana) of great erudition,—the sustainer of learning, who had achieved *iddhi*, and who was on the mount, instantly took his bowl and robe, and went to king Dhammàsoka, and delivered the message (thus): "Mahà rajà, hear thou the word of the spiritual preceptor. Mahà ràja, thy ally has embraced Buddhism. Bestow on him some valuable relics, and he will erect a Thupa for Buddha."'

'The king hearing the (above) speech was highly pleased and became very anxious. He (immediately) filled (for him) a vessel of relics (and said) "O! virtuous, depart quickly."'

'Whereupon the eloquent and meek (Sumana) taking the relics, ascended the sky, and went to Kosiya.† And, when he had approached Kosiya's presence, the pious (ascetic) spoke thus: "Mahà ràja, hear thou the words of the spiritual teacher. The king-beloved-of-the-Gods has embraced Buddhism. Give him valuable relics, and he will construct a great *Thùpa*."'

'Hearing his words, and being pleased, Kòsiya bestowed the right colar-bone (of the sage, and said). 'O virtuous depart quickly.'

* The hot season.

† Indra.

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'Sumana, the Sâmanera, having thus gone to Kosiya and received the right collar-bone, returned to the celebrated mountain.

* * * * * * Thereupon the king of immense forces, with his brother, preceded by the *bhikkhûs* and *sanghas*, repaired to meet the relic of the illustrious Buddha. On the day which completed the fourth month (of the season,) in the full moon night of *Kòmudi*,* the Mahà Vìra, who had come (thither) took his place on the frontal globes of the elephant.

'There (in honor of) Buddha's arrival at *Pachchanta*, the elephant roared, the earth quaked, like a stroked basin, and chanks and musical instruments were played. Immense was the noise of drums; and the king, attended by his retinue, made offerings unto the great being.

'The royal elephant, which had its face towards the west, went away from amongst (other) elephants, and entered the city through the eastern gate; when both men and women made offerings (unto the relic) with all kinds of scents and flowers.

'The elephant when proceeding through the southern gate, (halted) in the ancient capital, the region consecrated by Kakusanda, Konàgama, and Kassapa Buddhâs;

* * * * * * * * * * *

where the king enshrined the relics of *Sâky-putta;* and at this event the gods rejoiced, and the earth quaked miraculously and frightfully.

The Sàmanera, called Sumana, with his brother (or cousin,) having consulted the Ministers of State, and the inhabitants of the country, constructed bricks for the *thùpa*.'

14. The *Parakkamabâhu* here mentioned was Kalikàla Sàhitya Sarvañàna Pandita Parakkama Bàhu III. The date assigned for his inauguration in the *Attanagalu-vansa* is the 1824th year from the date when Gotama became Buddha, which would be (1824—45) 1779th year from the sage's death, which is the epoch from which the Buddhists generally reckon, and from which Turnour has started in the preparation of his Chronological lists. According to those lists, this prince ascended the throne in 1809 A. B. Thus between the two accounts there is a discrepancy of thirty years,

* Kortik, 'Oct.—Nov.'

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perhaps, the largest anachronism that has yet been discovered. See remarks of Turnour in his Buddhistical Annals, in the *Bengal A. S. Journal* for Sept. 1837. The same date (1824) is also given in the Sinhalese version, and it being very probable, for reasons which I have adduced in the Preface, that the *Attanagalu-vansa* was written in the latter part of this prince's reign, we are inclined to place much reliance upon the date here given. Be this however as it may, it will be seen from the extract subjoined and that given under note 25 *infra*, that all that is stated in the Text is substantially corroborated by the *Mahavansa*.

Atha ràja varo Hattha-vanagalla'bhidhànake;
Vihàramhi Sanghabodhi ràjà—*th*ane tu yattaso.

Adàtassa daliddassà sísa dànan tadà tahin;
*T*hane Gò*th*àbhayavhena bhûpàlena dvi-bhûmakan.

Va*tt*adhâtu gharan yantu kàritan tan (mahîpatî)
Punakàràpayî tunga sonna singan tibhûmakan.

Tasmin yeva vihâramhi attano pitu râjino
Dehanikkhepa *th*ànamhi kàrayî vara chetiyan.

Tattheva puna ra*tth*an san kàretvà pa*t*i màgharan
Sambuddha patiman tattha san*th*apesi silàmayan.

'Afterwards the illustrious monarch reconstructed, with three stories and a high golden pinnacle, the two storied-circumambient relic-house which the king, named Go*th*àbhaya, had (previously) constructed on the spot in the temple of Hattavanagalla, on which king Sanghabodhi had offered his head as a propitiation to the poor (traveller). In the same Vihàra, and on the same spot on which his royal father's body was deposited, he constructed a splendid Chetiya. Here also, after building an octagonal image-house, placed a figure made of solid rock.'

15. *Sanghahavatthu*,—are the four preeminent virtues of kings, viz., dàna 'gift, liberality,' piyavachana 'pleasing conversation,' *atthachariya* 'fruitful conduct, acts productive of benefit, well-being in law,' and *Samànatthalà* 'a regard for all as to one's self, impartiality.'

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16. *bàhu*,—'arm.' See note 23 to cap. iv, § 6. Also see an interesting note on the subject by Prof. Williams, in his *Sakutalà*, p. 87.

17. *Suvanna*,—a gold coin of which the following description is given in *Manu*,—'Six white mustard seeds are equal to a middle-sized barley-corn; three such barley corns to one *raktikà*, or seed of the Gunjà; five *raktikàs* of gold are one *màsha*, and sixteen such *màshas* one *Suvanna*.'—viii. 134. But the Buddhists consider that,

Chattàro vìha yo gunjà dve gunjà màsako bhave
Dve Akkhà màsakà pancha 'khànan dharanam'atthakan
Suvanno pancha dharanan nikkhantvanitthi panchate.

—'four seeds of paddy make a gunja,—two gunjas a màsaka,—five màsakas two akkhà,—eight akkhà one dharana [this is also the weight of a khapana—five-seventh of a sovereign; see note 1 cap. viii, § 1.],—five dharana, one suvanna,—five suvanna one nikkha.'—*Abhidhànapadipikà*.

18. The same sentiment is thus expressed in the *Buddhavansa*. 'Uttara'bhimukho satta padavèti hàrena agamàsun gachchhan kocha pathaviyù eva gati, nàkàsena—achelakovagato, nosachelako, haharovagato nasolasa va suddeseko, maha junassa pana àkàsena gachchhanto viya cha alankata pati satto viya cha ahosi.' 'Facing the north he advanced seven paces. He, who thus advanced trod on the earth, not on air; was clothless, not clad; was an infant, not a person of sixteen years of age (an adult). Yet to the multitude he seemed to advance in the air, to be superbly clad, and full sixteen years of age.'

19. This may be explained in the language of Col. Forbes, an eye-witness. He says, 'A peculiar and beautiful meteor sometimes seen in Ceylon, and called Buddha-rays, is supposed by the natives only to appear over a temple or tomb of Buddha's relics, and from thence to emanate; it is seen by day only, in clear weather, and generally after a long continued drought..... I have often seen those bright rays sharply defined in the blue sky and rising from one, sometimes from two opposite sides of the horizon, but on one occasion near sun-set, when in company with Captain

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H., I witnessed this beautiful phenomenon arising from the four points of the compass, until the gradually expanded rays crossed in the ethereal dome."—*Eleven Years in Ceylon*, i. pp. 337—8.

20. See note 30, post.

21. *Chakkavatti.*—This term is variously defined 1. 'One in whom the *chakka* or the discus of Vishnu (varattate) abides,' i. e., he in whose right hand the lines formed themselves into a circle. 2. An emperor whose domains extend to the horizon (chakra), or from sea to sea. 3. The derivation as hinted at in the text is 'a powerful or universal emperor, who derives his name from the *chakka-ratana*, the inestimable chariot (chakka,) which is studded with (ratana) gems, and which moves on the air.'

22. These two *gâthâs*, of which the following is a poetical translation by one of my literary friends—

[Held in the lotus-hand of Lanka's king,
Like *raja-hansi*, bird of golden wing,
Instinct with life, the *Danta* brightly gleam'd
Then Buddha's form assumed, when from it beam'd
Effulgent flashings, which on all sides thrown
With splendour unsurpass'd itself made known.
Awe-struck the king the miracle beheld—
Convinced—delighted—and by joy impelled,—
Such joy as fills a *Chakkavatti's* breast
When of a Chakkaratana possest.
He to th' unrivalled relic offerings there
Made of rich gems, and priceless jewels rare.]—

W. S.

are probably extracted from an ancient Pàli work.

At first both my Pandit and myself were confident that they had been taken from the *Dâtha Vansa*; [of which see an Analysis in the *Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal*]. On referring, however, to the work itself we have discovered our mistake. A friend of mine, who has, like myself, gone through the work, writes 'I have looked over the *Dâthà Vansa* for the two gàthàs that you showed me the other day; and although at the time I was almost confident that they were quotations from it, I now find

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that I have been mistaken. I find, however, two verses in it that nearly correspond in sense. They are the following:

Tasmin khane dasana dhàtu munissa rassa
Pakkhe pasâriya duve viya râja-hansí
Vitthàritansu nivahà gagananga namhi
'Avattato javiyjayena muhutta mattan
Pachchaggha' mattha ranakan sitamattharitvà
Bhaddhàsa namhi vinidhàya muninda dhàtun
Tan jàti puppha nikarena thakesi ràjà
Vassachcha yambu dhara kûta samappabhena.

23. *Vara p(r)asàda*, amongst the Brahmans as well as Buddhists, is, generally, a 'great boon' conferred by a saint, or a king; but it is here used to signify the accomplishment of the desire entertained.

24. *Antaka bhavana' mupaneya*—'having dispatched into the residence of Yama, the king of death'—'having destroyed or killed.' Here again there is a correspondence between the Brahman and Buddhist notions. The former regard Yama (from *Yam*, 'to restrain') as the restrainer or punisher, the judge of departed spirits or the god of punishment. *Antakabhavana=Yama-pura* is therefore the city, into which a departed soul enters to receive its sentence. The Buddhists also acknowledge Yama as the regent of hell, and his weapon is so powerful that 'the mere sight of it is said to scorch up the Kumbandas.'

25. *Chandrabhànu* is also mentioned in the *Mahavansa* as a very formidable Malay prince, who arrived in Ceylon in the eleventh year of Parrakkama's reign, with large forces that landed at all the ports of this island. The historian adds, that they ruined Lanka which had already suffered from the devastations of Megha, who was doubtless the sovereign of the Chola forces mentioned in the text. It is also stated that Chandrabhânu was defeated by Vîrabàhu, the nephew of the ruling prince. The 'deception' to which reference is made in the text, is explained in the *Mahavansa* to be that the (Chandrabhanu) attempted to win the affections of the Sinhalese by falsely representing that he was himself a Buddhist. This prince is said to have come from *Tambalinga*. This was probably *Tamralipta*, the celebrated sea-port of the fourth century,

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and which retained its character in the ninth and twelfth centuries. See account of *Foe-kne-ki*. Professor H. H. Wilson describes *Tamaliptas* or *Damaliptas* as the people of the western mouth of the Ganges in Mediripur and Tamluk.—See *Dasa kumâra Châritra*, p. 141; also *Vishnu Purâna*, p. 192.

26. *Kesarì*,—is given in the Pàli glossaries simply as a term for *Sìha*, or 'lion'; but the Buddhist annals depict him as a particular order of lion of the colour of *Chank*. Its mouth, and the extremities of its nails and feet, are said to be red; and that it has three lines from the head along the back, and also thick dark mane.

27. 28. *Kathina* is one of the most celebrated as well as the most efficacious of offerings, which the Buddhists make for acquiring merit. The word means 'hard,' 'difficult,' 'inconvenient,' etc. The offering consists of robes prepared on the same day, and at the same place. Although the ostentation of kings and the vanity of princes have induced them, as in the account given in the text, to prepare the robes from raw materials (cotton,) by going through the process of being spun, woven, dyed, stitched, &c., on the same day; yet according to rule, it is sufficient if the robes be stitched from cloth already prepared or furnished. The day within which it is so to be prepared extends to 24 hours, i. e., from *sunrise* to *sunrise*. The donor must, however, bestow the robes in *common* ('Sàngika') to the assembled priests, who are very numerous on such occasions; and the latter alone have the power of appropriation and distribution. This ceremony being also that of a *Sangha* or chapter, is regulated by certain rules, not very different from those which are observed in conferring the *Upasampadà* ordination. For particulars the reader is referred to *The Ritual of the Buddhist Priesthood*, by the Revd. B. Clough, p. 24, et seq.

29. *garubandha*,—lit. 'heavy things,'—theologically 'those things which are indivisible, such as gardens, ponds, etc.,—brass articles, such as pots, pans, etc., all which the priests ought to hold in common. These are therefore different from *parikkhàra*, such as water-strainers, shoes, eating-bowls, umbrellas, etc., which constitute the 'provisions necessary' for each priest separately, and which may therefore be used by him individually.

30. *dasa dighan*, 'the ten points.' The Sinhalese speak variously,—sometimes of the four cardinal points, sometimes of 'the

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six points,' by which they mean 'above' and 'below,' in addition to the four cardinal points, and sometimes 'the eight points'—

Pâchî pachîtyudîchitthî pubba pachchhima uttarâ,
Disâtha dakkhinâ' pâchî vidisânu disâ bhave

i. e. *Pàchi*, *pachiti*, and *udichi* are (respectively) for *pubba* (east) *pachchhima* (west) and *uttarà* (north). *Apàchà* is for *dakkhinà*, the south side. *Vìdisà* are for the *anudàsa*, or the intermediate points. Thus there are eight cardinal points. When to these eight we add the regions 'above' and 'below,' we obtain the 'ten points,' or the *dasa disà* of the Sinhalese.

31. Parakkama was a descendant of Sanghabodhi, the idolized monarch of *Attanagalu-vansa*. It is therefore that the funeral obsequies of his father Vijeyabâhu were performed at Attanagalla.

32. The acts of Patirájadeva are also detailed in the *Mahavansa*; for an extract from which see the concluding part of the Preface, at p. clxxv.

33. *Kunjararàja viràjita àdhàra bandhakato patthàya.*—It was an ancient practice to ornament the eaves of temples with figures of lions and elephants hewn out of rocks. Probably these are here meant, and we have accordingly rendered the expression, 'the elephantine eaves.'

34. *Vitanka* is generally interpreted to mean *Kapota pàlikà*. Kapota is strictly, 'a dove or pigeon.' Pr. Williams, upon the authority of Kàtavana, says, (see his *Sakuntalà*, p. 229) 'that it is also the name for a mode of joining the hands;' and he adds—'Probably the hands and fingers were brought into a position bearing some fancied resemblance to a pigeon.' From the verse which he quotes from *Sankara* and *Chandra Sekhara*, and which intimates a 'position significant of—

bhâtau vijnà pane chaiva vinaye cha prayujyate—

'fear, humble entreaty, or respectful representation,' it is reasonable to believe that it is the putting of the palms together so as to form a concavity; but I cannot help thinking that Kapota, like vitanka in the text, has acquired a meaning expressive of the 'beam ends' of a house which are dove-tailed. In the East houses are generally built upon wooden pillars, and the four wall-plates which meet each

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other as well as the beams placed over them are groved in (or dove-tailed) so as to have their ends protruding beyond the walls. These are the favorite resort of birds, especially pigeons. Hence in a secondary sense these 'beam ends' are designated *vitanka mandala* or 'the regions of pigeons," which are still to be seen as described.

35. *Kinnaras*,—'musicians of heaven.'

36. *Makara thorona*,—'ornamental porch or archway, containing representations of *makara*,' which is an animal between a fish and a crocodile.—See my *Contributions to Oriental Literature*, part ii. p. 126. For a correct representation of these Porches, see plate in Sir Em. Tennent's *History of Ceylon*, vol. ii. p. 577.

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CONCLUSION.

UNTIL I shall have attained *nibban*, may I by reason of this merit* be born in a family of good standing, pure, religious, and very wealthy. May I be a person of world-wide renown, learned in the languages of all countries, and [skilled] in all the inferior arts, and [able] to dispel wickedness. May I be a proficient in the Piṭakas, the Vedas, the various [systems of] Grammar, and other sciences, such as logic, etc. May I be a poet, a historian,† a ready disputant, and be able to remember several thousands of stanzas on hearing them but once. May I be enabled at once to master in thousands of ways the significations and the figures of speech of even a lac of compositions. May I always imperishably remember all that I have heard, like a writing on stone, or like the fat of the lion preserved in a golden vessel. May I in all my births be mighty, valiant, dexterous, strong, grateful, steady, and of distinguished lineage. May no one injure me; may I not injure another; and may I without inflicting punishment‡ be enabled to subjugate all beings. May I never be associated with sinful friends, nor imbued with scepticism; and may I never destroy a

* *i. e.* of having written this work.

† *i. e.* a person learned in History.

‡ Adan*d*ena asatthena; see note 14 to cap. vii.

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life howsoever small. May I please all mankind by being enabled in a moment to unravel any obscure skillful question that may be put to me by any person. Upon the bestowal of my very look, may all formidable maladies entirely vanish like drops of water on the lotus leaf. May no property to which I am entitled be [destroyed], taken away by kings or thieves, either on their seeing or hearing of the same; and may none of my things be consumed, burnt, or driven away by fire or water. May I never be subject to any disease, malady or danger; and may gods, men, Asuras,* Gandhanbas, Yakkhas and Rakkhas, protect me during my metempsychosis. May I never even in a dream be guilty of theft, adultery, drunkenness, life-slaughter (injury), and untruthfulness. May I at no time henceforth, even entertain the thought of committing *Panchanatariyan kamman*,† or the five-fold sins. May I never do, or cause to do, nor meditate to commit, even the most trivial sin, or an injury to life. May I never experience the ills of hell, and those consequent upon the existence of brutes, goblins, and Asuras May I in future be Buddha, after accomplishing the *pâramitâs*. May (my) undertaking be fully accomplished! May there be prosperity!

THE END.

* Demi-gods.

† *Panchantariyan*, &c., the five sins which are immediately punished.—See *Clough's Dictionary*, p. 350.

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APPENDIX

TO

ATTANAGALU-VANSA.

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APPENDIX.

Note 9 to cap. IV.

In the above note I have mentioned the perplexity I felt in attempting to render a metaphor which I had not rightly comprehended. It has therefore formed the subject of careful investigation even after the work went to press. One day, speaking on the subject to my Pandit, he informed me that he had met with a Sanskrit work, to which, it was quite clear, the writer of the *Attanagalu-vansa* was indebted for the imagery in the fourth chapter. On referring to this work, which is the *Kàdanbarì*, written by Vàna Bhatta, I have discovered the same metaphor referred to in this note; but the words are slightly different. The Pàli work contains *vajja-mâlâ*, and the Kàdanbarì gives, *badhya-sâlâ*, the former signifying 'a garland of torment,' or 'a chaplet of punishment,' and the latter 'a prison for punishment.' Now, it is possible that the writer of the *Attanàgalu-vansa*, mistook the Nàgarì *s* for *m*, and altogether misunderstood the metaphor which he intended to borrow. But, judging from the acknowledged ability of the writer, it is probable that he slightly changed *badhya* to [vadhya] *vajja*. In favor of the latter supposition we have, in addition to the better

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sense it conveys, the evidence of the Sinhalese translator, who in the thirteenth century understood the word in the sense of *vajja*. If this were so, my remarks in the note 9 to cap. iv might not be ill-conceived. If otherwise, the expression should be rendered *vajja-sàlà;* and it should be translated 'a prison for torments.'

To exhibit the similarity in this, as in many of the passages in the second and fourth chapters of the *Attanagalu-vansa*, with the expressions and sentiments of the writer of the Kadanbarì, I append a translation of a paragraph from the latter which contains the admonitions of *Sukanàsa*, the Prohita Brahman of king Tàràpìda, to his son *Chandràpìda*. Moreover, to render comparison easy, and to point out the close affinity which the Pàli bears to the Sanskrit,* I have also transferred the original Sanskrit passage into the Appendix.

KÀDANBARÌ.

[*Part I. p.* 90.]

'When the Prince who was about to ascend the throne, visited Sukanàsa, the latter, desirous of imparting instruction, admonished him as follows:

1 §. Son Chandrapìda, [though] thou hast mastered all the sciences, and art accomplished in all knowledge, yet there is not a little advice [that may be offered] to thee. The gloom alone, which is naturally produced by (the ardor of) youth, is very dense. It cannot be dispelled by the sun, nor banished by the splendor of gems, nor destroyed by the light of a lamp. The

* See Introduction to my *Kachchayana's Pali Grammar.*

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intoxication of prosperity is dreadful, and is not sobered down by [the process of] digestion. The blindness that results from the darkness of supremacy, is another [similar]; it is impervious, and it is not curable by a wick of callyrium. The hot burning fever of pride is (so) very malignant (that) it is not allayed by (any) application of colds. The best of charms baffles the [cure of the] poison of bewilderment [occasioned by] addiction to sensuality. The filth of lust is (so) gross (that) it can never be cleansed by ablution. The deep sleep* of regal prosperity is fast: (one) does not awake from it even at the close of night. This will hereafter be rendered more plain.†

2 §. Lineal supremacy,‡ tender youth, matchless beauty,§ and preternatural strength,—these are verily the *combined cause* of evil. Every one of them is a source of all sin‖. How much greater (is the effect) when they are all united together?¶ In early youth the wisdom (of man) though laved and purified with the waters of science, is greatly polluted. The religious

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* *Sannipata*—'Mixed remittant or synochus fever.'—See Dr. Wise's *Hindu Medicine*, p. 223.

† Lit. The same is henceforth expatiated to thee.

‡ *Garbhesvaratvan*,—'Supremacy by reason of womb,' 'supremacy of birth,' 'exalted station of life,' 'high descent,' 'lineal supremacy.'

§ Beauty arising from personal charms, or bodily accomplishments.

‖ See note 7 to cap. ii.

¶ 'Youth, abundance of riches, high rank, inconsiderateness;—even singly, each tends to disadvantage: what then, when the four combine?'—*Hitopadesa*, Intr. stanza ii.

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faith of the young, however pure, becomes vitiated. In youth nature drags and tosses him up like the wind, which by its free-will upraises and whirls dry leaves to a great distance. This mirage of wealth entices the deer-of-sensuality, which ever proves fatal at the end. To the mind, under the influence of the acidity of tender youth,* the frequent enjoyment of the lusts of the flesh, seems like water more (and more) sweet. Attachment to lust, like ignorance of the cardinal points, endangers man by leading him astray.

3 §. Sir, persons in your situation,† are the (fittest) objects‡ for admonition. It easily enters the innocent heart (and settles there) like moon-beams upon polished crystal. In the ear of the disobedient, advice, though pure as water, produces great discomfort,§ but to the obedient it serves much to the cheerfulness of their countenance, like an ornament on the elephant's cheek. The admonition of teachers, like the moon at the first dawn of night which dispels darkness, destroys all impure faults: and, as mature age by the appearance of grayness, transforms [purifies] the [black] hair of the head, so likewise [admonition], the cause of quiescence, by its merits causes to rectify those very faults.

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* *Navayawvana kashà*,—'astringency of tender youth,'—'bitterness of tender youth.'

† *Bhavà*,—*drisa eva*, lit. 'Sirs, like you.'

‡ *Bhájananan*,—See note 10 to cap. v.

§ The reader on comparing this with its parallel passage in cap. ii. § 2, will find that the translation above given is more correct, and that the metaphor as I have rendered it here, is more intelligible than the same given at p. 18. The word *jàni* in the *Pàli* text has, in my opinion, rendered the difference necessary.

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4 §. This is peculiarly the season for thee, who art still a stranger to carnal lusts, to [listen to] Admonition; (for, at a time) when Cupid assaults the heart, admonition vanishes away like water (poured into a broken vessel). Both the (high) lineage of the evil, and the education for their improvement, become useless. For, wherefore does not fire burn the [scented] sandal-wood? and wherefore does not the submarine-fire rage the more (on its contact with) quenching water? The advice of Teachers is to men an Ablution (with) water, which purifies all abomination; it (produces) maturity without (its companions) decrepitude, and the deformities of grayness, etc.; it (results in) stoutness, unattended by the morbidness* of corpulency; it (serves as) an ear-ornament, uncommon† and unwrought with gold; it (gives) a light devoid of fire; and it creates a wakefulness without distress.

5 §. Verily, counsellors to illustrious kings are rare; for people from fear listen to the words of princes, as the echo follows sounds. [On the other hand, they,] the kings, though advised, hearken not, owing to their ears being obstructed by the inflammation of excessive pride; and although hearkening, yet they displease the Teachers who give them counsel, by disregarding it with the-proud-wink-of-the-elephant.‡ Royalty, in its very nature, is distressful: it causes the dim faintness-of-the burning fever of haughtiness. Riches, by means of false pride, distract (the possessor). The glory (Lakshmì) of sovereign-power leads to the morbid lethargy of regal poison.

* *Medo dosha.*

† *Agràma*,—'not rustic,' 'not rude,' 'uncommon.'

‡ See note 25 to cap. ii.

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6 §. O illustrious prince,* observe first and primarily† (the character of) that very *Lakshmì*.‡ She is the bee-of-a-valiant-army hovering over the lotus-pond of a battle-field.§ She has risen up, borrowing (lit. taking) as objects to dispel the sorrow of separation, objects with which she was familiar from [previous] association, viz.:—fluctuation [*vacillation*]‖ from the *Milky Ocean*, beauty (colour) from the leaves of the *Divine Tree*, iniquity (curvity) from the *Crescent-moon*, impatience (speed) from *Indra's horse*, ignorance from *mortal-poison*, intoxication from *wine*, and harshness from the *jewel of*

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* *Kallyàn'abhinivesì*.—See note ‡ at p. 19.

† Here I am not sure whether I have correctly understood the force of *nàmat* and *pratamam* in the same sentence; nor am I at all certain that I have rightly comprehended the sense of the metaphors which are intended to convey a double meaning.

‡ The writer takes up the word *Lakshmì*, 'the goddess of beauty,' which also means 'the glory' (of a princedom), and then depicts in language of double-entendre the evils of the latter by an allusion to objects which were received along with the former in her ascent at the churning of the Milky Ocean. To render the references intelligible, I may here enumerate the inestimable objects reclaimed. They were Lakshmì, the Goddess of Beauty, Dhanvantarì, the physician of the gods, the Apsaras or Nymphs of Indra's heaven, *Surâ*, the Goddess of Wine, the Moon, Kaustubha or the hard jewel worn by Krishna, the all-bestowing Tree, the Cow of abundance, the Stud of Indra, his Elephant, deadly Poison, Ambrosia, Sanch, the Shell of Vishnu, and his Bow.—See *Wilson's Hindu Th. p.* 59.

§ *Subhata khadga mandalotpala vana vibhrama bhramarì lakshmì.*

‖ From the construction of this sentence, it would seem that a word is omitted which I have taken the liberty to supply. It is *taralatàn* 'vacillation,' 'fluctuation (of waves).'

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Krishna. There is nothing in this world like this (Prosperity=Lakshmì), who is not correctly understood.* Though, verily, this wretch† is acquired, she must, nevertheless, be retained with difficulty. She is lost, though left motionless and bound with a tight noose. She departs, though protected in the cage of-the-martial-arms of thousands of valiant soldiers. She disappears like the dark stormy clouds, [and], though secured, like a flock of ichor-filled elephants. She abides not, although familiar; she cares not for the high; she perceives not accomplishments; she follows not lineage; she regards not piety; she reckons not upon scholarship; she listens not to learning; she loves not virtue; she discards liberality; she searches not after wisdom; she conforms not to propriety; she knows not the truth; and she despises beauty. She is manifested, but (speedily) vanishes away like the *gandharva nagara lekha.*‡ She whirls round, even now, like the wheels caused by the eddies§ at the churning of the Ocean with mount *Mandâra.*‖ She¶ abides not principally in one place, as if she were wounded by the thorns of the lotus-stalks in her contact with them, whilst dwelling in the lotus-pond.** Though

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* *Aparimitan*,—'unknown,' 'not understood.'

† *Anàryà*,—'not àrya,' 'irreverent,' 'vile one'='wretch.'

‡ This is to me unintelligible.

§ 'Wheel through the air, in circling eddies play.'
—*Addison.*

‖ See *Vishnu Purâna*, for an account of this legend; p. 75.

¶ Lit. *padam*, 'foot.' 'Her foot abides not in one place.'

** This is an allusion to her origin from the lotus.

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greatly protected, she drops down like [a bee]* drunk with the nectar which exudes from the temples of ichor-filled elephants† in the premises of the great. She dwells on sword-blades as if to learn their sharpness.‡ She associates with *Nàràyana*, as if to borrow his all-pervading form.§ She is not much to be trusted: (for) she deserts like the night-lotuses‖ possessed of [abounding with] territories [roots], forces [stems], treasures [sheath], and multitudes [petals]. She clambers up the tree-of-a-libertine like a creeper. Like the Ganges, though productive of gold, she is (nevertheless) fluctuating like a ripple on its waves. She goes from one condition of life to another, like the Sun in his passage from one asterism to another. She is full of darkness like the Hades.¶ Like Hidanba, she possesses a heart that neither knows fear, nor cares for violence.** She is (transient) like a flash of lightning in the sultry season. Like a wicked demon that exhibits the sta-

* This metaphor seems incomplete without *bhranga*, 'bee,' which I have supplied.

† See note 39 to cap. i.

‡ The writer probably means to convey that kings, when maddened by prosperity, resort to War, as if desirous of testing the power of their forces.

§ This is an allusion to the multifarious forms which this deity is supposed to have assumed, from his own power.

‖ Here is a double-entendre. The words employed, *mûla*, *dunda*, *kosha*, and *mandala*, conveying both the attributes of sovereign power as well as the properties (given within brackets) of the lotus to which the same is compared.

¶ *Pàtàla*,—'the subterraneous dwelling of serpents. See *Vishnu Puràna*, p. 204.

** *Hidimbeva bhima sahà saikahàrya hridayà.*

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ture* of many men, she distracts the silly. As it were from jealousy, she comes not in contact with men in whom Saraswatì (learning) dwells. As it were very pollution, she touches not the virtuous. As being unpropitious, she cares not for the generous. As it were a matter of no consequence, she disregards the benevolent. She shuns the respectable like a serpent. She avoids the valiant like a thorn. Like a bad dream, she forgets the liberal man. She approaches not the humble, as if he were a criminal. She laughs at the intelligent man, as if he were a fool. Like a juggler's trick, exhibiting the opposite of every quality, she is manifested in the world.

7 §. Thus, though possessed of the heat [of activity,] she produces the frigidity of apathy; though sustaining a character for high-mindedness, yet she exhibits servility; though born of the very water, she is not satiated; though enjoying supremacy, she is yet unhappy; though formidable, she is yet weak; though the sister of Ambrosia,† she is nevertheless bitter; though she has a body, she is invisible; though loved by the great, she is attached to the vile. Like an object made of the dust, she pollutes the beautiful. In whatever proportion this wavering person (quality) is manifested, in the same proportion does she produce a deal of matter for action, like the flaming wick which is stained (burdened) with its own grime.‡

* *Purusha*, 'the height of a man from the top of his upraised hand to the ground,' 'the stature of many men.' i. e. 'several times the height of a man.'

† She is called the sister of Ambrosia, because it was an object reclaimed from the Ocean along with Lakshmì.

‡ For the parallel passage in the *Attanagaluvansa*, see cap iv. § 3 et seq.

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8 §. Indeed she is (like) a stream that waters (grows) the poisonous-weeds (creepers) of lusts; a song of the hunters (that enchants) the deer-of-sensual pleasures; a wreath of smoke (that stains) the painting-of-good morals; a soft bed* [which nourishes] the deep-sleep-of-folly; an old turret that is occupied by the goblin of cupidity; a darkness (that obscures) the sight of wisdom; a standard [hoisted up] for [the triumphs of] all wickedness; a river which rears the crocodiles of wrath and haste; a tavern (for the enjoyment of) the wine of sensuality; a hall of merriment for the brow-moving dance; a cave which is occupied by the serpent of iniquity; a rod which draws away righteous conduct; an unseasonable rainy cloud (that displeases) the swans of estimable virtues; a fit locality for the pimple† of worldly censure; a prologue (that misrepresents) the Drama of Hypocrisy; a banana (which serves as delightful food) for the elephant of lust; a house of torments‡ for virtuous deeds, and the (very) mouth of Ràhu (that swallows up) the moon-of-righteousness.

9 §. I know not one who has not been fondly embraced or has not been deceived by this unknown. This is (indeed) certain, that she moves, though delineated as a picture; acts as a delusion, though represented in a book; imposes (upon you) though hidden; cheats you, though you (only) hear of her; and misleads

* *Vibbhiama seyyà*, see note * at p. 41. I fear my translation of this word at cap. iv. § 3 is not correct. I have been led to the error by adopting the meaning given in the Sinhalese version.

† *Vishphotaka=bubbulan* Pàli. See cap. i. note 18.

‡ See the preliminary remarks to this Translation; and cap. iv. note 9.

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you (though she is only engaged) in your thoughts. Moreover, Princes, who with difficulty and by destiny obtain such an indecent person,* are confounded, and get into all improper habits and practices.

10 §. Thus, at their very inauguration, their peculiar merits† are washed away as it were with the water of consecration;‡ their hearts are stained as it were with the smoke of the sacrificial fire; their forbearance vanishes away, as if swept off by the pointed *kusa* grass of the Prohita; their reflection on decrepitude is interrupted as if bound with the regal head-dress; their views on death (hereafter) are screened as it were by the state canopy; their truthfulness is blown afar as if fanned away by the *chàmara;* and their principles are driven away as it were by means of the rod of punishment; their delightful speech disappears before the shouts of festivity;§ their fame flags like the banners on the royal standard.

11 §. Thus (again), some are distressed by being greedy of wealth, (acquired by) wearisome labour,—lax like the wattle on the neck of a bird,—unstable like the twinkling (light) of the fire-fly,—momentary in its gratification,—and ridiculed by sensible men; some, by being forgetful of their (birth) origin, owing to the pride of paltry wealth; some, by being enslaved through passion, like the accumulation of corrupt blood

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* *Duràchàrayà.*

† *Làkshinyam=Lakkhiññan.*—See note †† at p. 41 supra.

‡ lit. *Mangala kalasa,*—'glorious pot,' the pot containing the water of consecration.

§ *Jaya shabda,*—'shouts of joy.'

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(the result) of morbid humours:* some, by the troubles (which they endure) as many thousands of times as their five-fold senses, by the longing desires of different lusts; and some, by being confounded owing to the vacillation of the mind, as if one of its impulses has led (at once) into hundreds of thousands. They are seized as if by the imps of evil; they are afflicted as if by ghosts; they become possessed (of the devil) as if by means of charms; they are paralyzed as it were by goblins; they are tossed about as by the wind; they are devoured as by a *pisàcha*;† they perform thousands of mouth-evolutions‡ as if pierced by Cupid's darts in the vital parts of the body; they move about as if boiled with the heat of wealth; the members of their bodies droop down as if assaulted with heavy blows; like crabs, they wander to a side; crippled by reason of their injustice, they move like dwarfs, by the help of others; they talk with great difficulty, as if their tongues were affected with the operation of the-poison-of-falsehood (in their stomachs); the heads of their attendants begin to ache as it were by the (strong smell of the) pollen of the *Saptachhada*;§ they recognize not even their kinsmen, as if they are on the eve of death; they disregard the valiant, as if their eyes are blinded;‖ like those who are bitten by highly venomous serpents, they open not their eyes even under the influence of powerful charms; like the lac, they cannot bear the heat (of supremacy;) though bound to large immoveable piles, like wild elephants, they are

* *Dosha.*

† 'A fiend,' 'a sprite.'

‡ *Mukha bhanga*,—'the quivering of the mouth.'

§ This is the *Alstonia scholaris.*

‖ *Utkupita lochanà iva*,—'as if their vision is affected.'

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not tractable;* faint with the poison of covetousness, they regard every thing as the very gold; wielded by others, they are led to destruction like sharp-poisoned swords; though located at a distance, they extirpate high families just as fruits (are plucked) by lifting up sticks,† though pleasing, they are like unseasonable flowers,—the cause of the world's destruction;‡ they have superhuman power, like the fire of cremation; like the short-sighted they see not distance; and like out-castes, they associate§ with the *Shudra*. Even those who hear of them are alarmed as one would be on hearing a funeral drum. Even those who think of them are led to danger, like those who think of great sinners.‖ Daily accumulating wealth from all sides, they become inflated as it were by sin. Now, persons of such character, who become the targets for (recipients of) hundreds of calamities, and fall down like the dew-drop on a blade of grass growing upon an ant-hill, do not at all reflect.

12 §. Some, again, are deceived by the fulsome flatteries (undeserved by humanity) of artful knaves who (abound) like crafty cranes in the pond of society, who live for their own gain, like vultures for flesh, and who, laughing in their very sleeves,¶ represent evil as

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* i. e. 'heed not counsel.'

† Here, as in many places, the writer uses expressions conveying a *double entendre*, so as to explain the metaphor. The word *danda* may mean either 'stick' or 'army.'

‡ See *Hitopadesa*, p. 78.

§ Lit. 'their houses are filled with.'

‖ See extract from *Madanaratna Pradìpa*, in Haughton's *Mànav-dharma Sàstra*, p. 344.

¶ 'Laugh within themselves.'

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good; (viz.) 'that gambling is a pastime;' 'to court the favors of others' wives, is gallantry;' 'deer-hunting is (the best) exercise;' 'drinking is a convention of society'; 'procrastination is heroism;' 'to discard one's wife is a virtue;' 'to treat contemptuously the precepts of tutors, is evidence of intuitive knowledge;'* 'to leave servants unmastered is a source of happiness;'† 'to patronize dancing, singing, music, and harlots, is (the characteristic of a man of) taste;' 'to disregard great crimes is an indication of one's dignity;' 'to endure the disgrace of discomfiture, is virtuous forbearance;' 'obstinacy denotes greatness;' 'to despise the gods is an excellent quality;' 'the complimentary praises of courtiers‡ is the evidence of renown;' 'vacillation (in one's conduct) is (the result of an) energetic mind;' and 'the non-discernment (of the merits of others) is impartiality.' Intoxicated with the delirium of riches, and elated by pride, they (princes) receive without reflection the flatteries of knaves as befiting themselves; and, though they partake of man's very nature, consider themselves as being above the level of mankind, (next) as having acquired half of divine nature, and (finally) as being altogether gods. [By and bye] they assume the attributes and acts of the gods, and become a laughing-stock§ to

* *aparapraneyatva.*—See note 19 to cap. iv. I misunderstood the Pàli expression therein given.

† *Ajita bhrityatà.*—This is given in the *Attanagalu vansa* (see cap. iv. § 5) as *aditi bhachchatan.* Judging, however, from the source whence this metaphor is taken, I apprehend the expression should be *ajita bhachchatan.*

‡ *Vandi jana*—either 'courtiers' or 'captives,' whose duty it was to sing the praises of their masters.

§ See note (§) at p. 43.

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all people: and (yet) they are highly rejoiced at the disguises of the courtiers, [who act conformably to their false notions.]

13 §. Moreover, affected* by a false notion, that they enjoy the fame which arises from their supposed elevation to a divine state, they imagine that they have acquired an additional couple to their pair of arms, believe that their forehead conceals a third eye beneath the skin, and consider admissions into their presence† as marks of favor. The very look (which they cast on others) they regard as an act of condescension (on their part.) Simply to talk [to others,] they look upon as patronage.‡ Their very decrees they regard as boons conferred. They look upon their very touch as affording purification. Elated with false pride as to their supposed greatness, they bow not to the gods, respect not Brahmans, reproach the venerable, treat the respectable with dishonor, salute not those who are entitled to be saluted, and submit not to their tutors. They contemptuously treat learned sages as men who have in vain subjugated sensual pleasures; receive the advice of elders as the vain talk of men sinking under the infirmities of decrepitude; calumniate the counsel of ministers, thinking it a reflection upon their own wisdom; and are indignant with those who are of sincere speech.§

14 §. If any one will daily and incessantly praise them, bowing unto them with a devotion worthy of

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* *Upahatà=upagatà.*

† *darsanapidàna*,—'admission to a personal interview.'

‡ Lit. 'As a participation of their power with others.'

§ For the parallel passage in the *Attanagalu-vansa*, see cap. iv. § 6.

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the gods, or shall publish their great prestige; with him will they be greatly pleased,—to him will they talk, to him will they be attached (for ever), him will they promote, with him will they associate with delight, on him will they bestow gifts, with him will they cultivate friendship, to his word will they hearken, upon him will they shower wealth; him will they honor, and of him will they make a confidant. But wherefore [enlarge on the character] of those, who are entirely guided by the reproachful acts of deception founded on malicious precepts, who place implict confidence on their Prohita Teachers, that practise only wickedness and iniquity; who pin their faith to ministers hostile* to an alliance with others; who adhere to the love of principalities, which, after a (short) enjoyment, have been discarded by thousands of kings; who are attached to sciences which only teach the modes of [murder] destruction; and who cause their very brothers, to be killed to whom they should be endeared by ties of congenital affection.

15 §. Wherefore, Prince, when thou shalt have attained such regal supremacy which is to be dreaded by reason of the thousands of its cares [action], both troublesome and deceitful, and so long as thou art a youth shrouded in the darkness of ignorance, endeavour that thou mayest not be scorned by the people, reproached by the learned, censured by preceptors, reviled by friends, and grieved for by the wise; and also that thou

* *para*—I have here translated into 'hostile.' As an affix however, I have never seen it translated in that sense. But by giving it a different meaning e. g. 'intent upon' or 'diligent,' I find I cannot convey the obvious sense of this passage.

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mayest not be deceived by rogues, scouted by the learned, eaten up by libertines, devoured by the wolves of (your) attendants, cheated by knaves, captivated by women, wooed by Lakhsmì, distracted by passion, maddened by love, attracted by objects of sense, drawn by lusts, and transported by prosperity.

16 §. Sir, riches intoxicate those who are of a vacillating mind, and have not cultivated knowledge; but* thou art indeed natürally sensible, and hast been educated by thy sire with great attention. It is nevertheless from a feeling of delight, occasioned by thy very goodness, that I have spoken so much. Do thou ever ponder on this,—'that untractable prosperity (Lakhsmì) leads man astray, however respectable, indefatigable, sensible, virtuous, thoughtful, or discreet.' Sir, enjoy the happiness that shall result from the approaching ceremony of sub-regal consecration, which thy father is preparing in every way worthy the auspicious occasion. Retain that office [of sub-king] held (previously) by thy ancestors in lineal descent, overcome† thy enemies, and raise thy relations. Upon thy consecration, when thou shalt have commenced to travel, protect the conquered territories of thy father, which are bounded by the Ocean and the seven Islands. Now is the time for thy elevation into power,—a power, which, when attained, enables the possessor to determine (all) matters like one who sees the three worlds.

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* I have found it necessary to transpose this sentence.

† Lit. 'bend down the heads of.'

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Note 12 *to cap. v.*

It is a well known fact that several stories given in the Buddhist work called *The Jàtakas*, or 'the incarnations of Gotama,' are current in many parts of the world. M. Fausboll, the learned translator of 'Five Jàtakas,' states that 'some of the *comical stories* that are well known all over Europe, under different names' such as the 'stories about the wise men of Gotham, in England; Molbohistorier, in Denmark; Geschichte der Schild birger in Germany, etc.,' are met with in the *Jàtakas*. I need scarcely add, that some of the tales in the *Hitopadesa*, and consequently, the fables of Pilpay and Æsop, which owe their origin to it, are also found in the *Jàtakas*.

Moreover, there is much correspondence between two stories given in the *Jàtaka* and the *Râmâyana*. The main story of the latter corresponds with the *Dasaratha Jàtaka*. The points of agreement are many, and are such as cannot be deemed accidental, whilst those of disagreement, especially of any importance, to which I shall briefly refer, are confined to those portions of the Epic Poem, to which eminent Oriental Scholars have assigned a later date, and which may therefore be critically separated from its earliest parts.

According to the *Râmâyana*, the chief seat of operations is *Ayodhya;* but the *Jàtaka* places it in *Benares*, 'the scene of the preachings and labours of all the Buddhas, and particularly of the initiatory labours of Sàkya.'* In both, however, the Royal sire of the hero is named *Dusaratha*, and his sons *Râma*, *Lakkhana*, and *Baratha*. To the mother of the last a promise is made

* Journal of the R. A. S., vol. vi. p. 310.

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by *Dasaratha*, that he would grant her any (*vara* or) boon which she is pleased to ask. Many years afterwards she claims, as the fulfilment of that promise, the throne for her son. Astounded at this unjust demand; and unable positively to refuse it,* but still unwilling to grant it, the king—not, as stated in the *Râmâyana*, in compliance with the wishes of his wife, but of his own free will,—banishes his two first sons for twelve years. [Here the Hindu version prolongs the period to fourteen.] The two princes cheerfully obey their father's orders, and proceed, accompanied by a retinue, and by their disconsolate sister *Sità*, whom the Hindus speak of as the daughter of *Janaka*, and, even at this time, as the wife of Râma. Arrived at their destination, they build a dwelling, and settle in it as hermits. Again there is a discrepancy between the Buddhist and Hindu versions, the latter placing their hermitage in *Chitrakûta*, and the former in the confines of the *Himalayà*. After their departure, the bereavement of the old king is attended with inconsolable anguish. He pines, and comes to a premature end. Here the Hindu Epic travels out of the main story and gives another, attributing the calamity to the king to 'a deed of blood committed by himself in his youthful days;' whereas in the *Jâtakas*, nearly the same facts constitute an independent tale relating to a different incarnation of Gotama in Benares, and which runs as follows:

THE SÀMA JÀTAKA.

'Once upon a time (says the legend)† when *Piliyuk* was king of Baranes, Gotama was born unto a hermit,

* A solemn promise of this kind is regarded in the East as irrevocable.

† I have made this translation from the Sinhalese version.

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named *Dukúla* and was named *Sàma*. After the son had grown up, *Dukúla* and his wife, *Pàrikà*, went one day into the jungle in quest of roots and fruits. There they encountered a storm, and being much wet, were obliged to take shelter under a tree close to a hole inhabited by a malignant serpent. Whilst the venerable pair were standing there, dripping from their garments, a Cobra issued a venomous blast, whereby they were instantly struck blind.* In this helpless condition their son discovered† and conducted them home; and began to nourish and maintain them with the affection of a dutiful son. Some time afterwards the king went upon a hunting expedition, and rested on the banks of *Migasammata*, not far from the hermitage. He had not, however, been long there, before he saw the footsteps of deer that came down to the river to drink; and, thinking that he could kill them, lay in ambush. Immediately a remarkably handsome person with a

* The narrative is here interrupted to explain the cause for the misfortune, which is stated as follows:—In a previous birth *Dukula* was an Oculist, and undertook, for a stipulated reward, the cure of a person whose eyes had been affected by disease. When the patient was on the point of recovery, the Doctor demanded his promised recompense; but being refused, he at the instigation of Pàrikà, who was also his wife in that birth, infused some poisonous medicines into the patient's eyes, by which he completely lost his sight.

† It is also stated that on discovering the condition of his unhappy parents, Sàma first wept and then began to laugh. On being questioned, he explains the reason to be, that without consideration he gave vent to what was natural, but on the reflection that he would, by attention to his parents in their unhappy condition, acquire much merit, he was transported with joy.

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pitcher, came down to the river surrounded by a flock of deer. Amazed at the sight, and wishing to ascertain whether it was a nymph of the forest whom he thus beheld, he issued a dart, which alas! severely wounded him. In the agonies of death the wretched man put his pitcher by him, and, falling on the ground, began to exclaim, 'Who can be the enemy of a person that was devoted to the religious duties of the eight *Sìlas*, and the ten *Kusalas!* Who indeed could desire the flesh of an innocent person like myself!'* Hearing these cries the King approached his victim, proclaimed that he was Piliyuk, King of *Baranes*, explained the motive with which he had shot him, and desired to know who or what he was. Whereupon Sàma replied, 'I was born in this forest, I am the only prop and support of two parents, both aged and blind. Little do they know of the mishap that has happened to me. They will indeed be much grieved and distressed when they find me thus delaying.† I alone gave them what they desired. Twice daily have I washed them, and thrice have I fed them. Who indeed will give them a drop of water even after asking ten times! They will be parched like fishes out of water. Who alas! will succour and help those, who, probably, at this very moment, are anxiously awaiting my return, and are watching for the first sounds of my foot-

* Writhing on the bank in anguish, with a plaintive voice cried he,
Ah! wherefore has this arrow smitten a poor harmless devotee?—
Griffith's Specimens of Indian Poetry.

† Ah! I am not thy only victim; Cruel King! thy heedless dart
Pierces too a father's bosom, and an aged mother's heart.
They, my parents blind and feeble, from this hand alone can drink,
When I come not, thirsting, hoping, sadly to the grave they'll sink.—
Ibid.

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steps!' Thus lamenting he began to weep, not for himself, but, for the destitution in which he would leave his feeble parents. Horror seized the King at the reflection, 'that his conduct was calculated to deprive of life three persons who had exercised the duties of *Brahmachariyâ*, and that he could not escape the torments of hell, if they all died;' and, touched by the lamentations of the youth, he promised to succour and help his parents until his death. Sàma, relying upon his faithful promises, blessed the King, and desiring him to convey his respects and the sad tidings of his death to his blind parents, closed both his eyes, and dropped down as if he had expired.*

Instantly a goddess named *Bahusodarì*, who had been Sàma's mother in his tenth birth before the present, perceiving the danger to the hermit-boy and also to his parents as well as the King, made her appearance on the spot; and, after rebuking the King for his conduct, and advising him how he should behave towards Sàma's parents, watched over Sàma.

The King sorely afflicted with grief, picked up the pitcher which had been filled up by Sâma, and taking the path which had been directed, reached the humble cottage of the blind pair, who sat anxiously watching the return of their son. They now heard the sound of advancing footsteps, but knowing that they were not those of their son, inquired, 'who approached the door?' The stranger announced, that he was Piliyuk, the King of Baranes; and entered with them into a conversation,

* All expressions in this part of the tale regarding the death of Sàma are surrounded with a haze of uncertainty; for, according to Buddhism, there is no existing power by which the dead can be restored to life.

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in the course of which he delicately disclosed their son's fate, and the particulars connected with it, offering at the same time to succour them through life. Unbounded was now the grief of the hapless parents, to which they gave utterance in the language of despair, falling down, and each bitterly crying, 'Oh son Sàma, from the day I have lost my sight, have I, by thy unceasing attentions felt that I have acquired divine-eyes. Where hast thou now gone? How shall I henceforth live? Son, thou hast never done, nor conceived, any evil towards us or any other being. Thou hast never uttered a falsehood. Thou hast never committed life-slaughter; ever hast thou maintained the observance of the *pancha sìla*.' The King tried his utmost to console them, but without success. Afterwards, turning to the King, the blind parents addressed him, saying, that they had no faith in his proferred protection, and that all the favor they desired was to be led to the place where Sàma lay. The king complied by leading the point of a stick which the blind ones held in their hands. When they reached their destination, the bereaved parents again gave vent to their feelings by much weeping, and praying to the Titular gods. The mother, on examination, finding that all signs of life had vanished, gave utterance to the following *Satya kiriyà*. 'If it be true that my son Sàma has unceasingly devoted himself to the duties of *Brahmachariyâ*, and that he has ever maintained the Ordinances of the *Attha Sìla;* and if it be also true that I have entertained no other faith except Buddhism, and that I have ever performed *tilakunu Bhàvanà;**—may by the power of those truths, my son receive life.' By

* Meditation on three points—the impermanency (of all things); that sorrow (attends existence); and that there is no soul.

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the influence of this *Satya kiriyà*, and by the might of the Gods, Sàma moved from one side to another. When the father had also uttered a similar *Satya kīriyà*, Sàma again moved to a side; and by the power of the goddess already named. he revived, and the parents received their lost sight. Instantly the morning sun arose, and Sàma dismissed the astonished King, after preaching to him on the merits of nourishing one's parents, and above all of leading a religious life, as they were testified by his miraculous restoration to life, etc.

To revert to the story of Dasaratha. Upon his demise, his eldest son, Râma, being away, Baratha's intriguing mother attempts to procure the throne for her son. But, he, noble fellow! justly declines the honor, which is strictly the heritage of his exiled brother, and proceeds to his brother's seclusion to insist upon his return. Reaching the hermitage, where he meets Râma, Lakkhana, and Sìtà, he breaks the sad news of his father's death, and, after being treated to a learned sermon on the folly of sorrowing for the dead, implores Râma to assume his rightful inheritance; but the latter declines the invitation, as he would, by accepting it, violate his father's injunction by which he was exiled for twelve years, of which nine only had at this time expired. All remonstrance being unavailing, Baratha returns with Râma's shoes, which exercise an influence in all his acts until the return of Râma after the expiration of the period of his banishment, when he is married to his sister *Sìtà*, is inaugurated king, and reigns for 16,000 years.

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To the above stories, which are jumbled together in the Hindu Epic, are added so many fictions that it is indeed difficult to separate the truth from poetry. But it is apprehended that part iii. of the Epic, which is altogether an addition to the Buddhist *Jâtakas*, and in which the poet 'mars the beauty of his descriptions by the wildest exaggeration and hyperbole,'* is an invention. Although the existence of several localities mentioned in this part of the Râmàyana, have induced many persons to believe that it refers to 'a real expedition through the Peninsula of India, and to real victories in the South,'† and therefore it may be affirmed that this Tale has some *truth* for its foundation; yet its *bonâ fide* relation to the main story of Râma, to which Professor *Lassen*‡ assigns an ante-Buddhistic existence, may reasonably be doubted. Assuming indeed that the conflicts, both 'wondrous and supernatural,' with which the poet concludes the poem with 'that martial inspiration and delight in combat, which once filled the ancient heroes and bards,'§ are partially founded on fact, it cannot be denied that the narrative itself is grossly exaggerated; and that part iii is foisted into the history of Râma, whose spotless integrity and unsullied purity of character, both in a moral and religious sense, the bard loved to identify with the virtues of his adoring deity, the

'Unconquered conqueror—Infinite—Unknown,
To no corrupt desires, no passions prone.'

In this point of view we are not at a loss to account

* Prof. Mon. William's *Indian Epic Poetry*, p. 4.

† *Life in India*, by Mrs. Spyer, p. 117.

‡ S. Ind. *Alterth.* p.p. 490—4.

§ *ib.*

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for the Hindu Olympus 'where the gods are met in solemn conclave, dismayed at the insolence of the ten-headed demon monarch, Râvanà, who, from his island throne in Ceylon, menaced earth and heaven with destruction.'* It is quite in keeping with the entire plot, and the after incidents of Râma's life as given in the Râmâyana to invest him in his youth with supernatural powers,—powers, it may be observed, not unlike those exercised by Gotama in his youthful days, when 'in proof of his accomplishments in martial deeds,'†

'He grasped the ponderous weapon in his hand,
And with one vigorous effort braced the string.'

But, all 'the exquisite touches of true poetic feeling, with which the Ràmàyana abounds, its graphic descriptions of heroic incidents, and nature's grandest scenes,'‡ would be devoid of interest, and would fall flat without the one thing which invests the whole with life and animation—its *Heroine.* And, it would seem difficult to portray all the domestic virtues which the poet has depicted without introducing a *married woman* from the date of Râma's departure into the woods. The affectionate sister, who accompanied her brothers to their hermitage, is therefore selected for this end; and Sità is presented to the reader in all the graces and loveliness of a true and faithful *wife,* even before the event which entitled her to that designation.

Such are some of the 'incrustations' by which the principal story is overlaid in the Ràmàyana; and if it can be divested of what Professor Monier Williams

* Pro. Mon. William's *Indian Epic Poetry,* p. 4.

† *Buddhavansa.*

‡ Prof. William's *Indian Epic Poetry,* p. 12.

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calls, 'the successive layers,' we shall doubtless have the 'original substratum,' which, considering the want of extravagance in the Buddhist story,—the absence of exaggeration, and above all, its rationality, may be reasonably identified with the tradition with which the Arians of a remote date were probably familiar:—

THE DASARATHA JÀTAKA.*

Whilst dwelling in *Jetavana*, Buddha delivered this *Ettha Lakkhana Sità cha*, concerning a peasant who had lost his father. This person, when his father had died, overcome with grief, left off all his avocations, and began to lament.† Buddha, rising at early dawn, looked‡ into the world and perceived that this person was predestined to attain the *paths*.§ Next day he went into *Sàvatti* in quest of alms, and when he had finished his meals he dispatched (his retinue of) bhikkhûs, and taking one of them as an attendant he went into his (the husbandman's) house. When (the latter) had made his obeisance, and sat down, (Buddha) spoke to him in a sweet voice, and said, 'Upàsaka,‖ sorrowest thou?' He replied, 'Yes, my lord, grief for a father afflicts me.' Buddha rejoined, 'Upàsaka, wise men of

* Translated from the *Pàli* version.

† Lit. 'became subservient to grief.'

‡ The omniscience attributed to Buddha is not a universal knowledge of all things without an effort, or an acquaintance with matters without any mental exertion. It is a knowledge which he acquired when he entertained a desire to be informed upon certain matters.

§ *Sotàpatti*—'one of the paths leading to *nibban*.'

‖ A lay observer of the Ordinances of Buddhism.—See my *Introduction to Kachchayana's Grammar*, p. 94.

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old, who knew the eight-fold realities of life,* did not at all sorrow on the death of a parent.' Being requested (by the Upàsaka,) Buddha declared what had taken place before (as follows):—

In aforetimes there was at Baranes a King named *Dasaratha.* He reigned righteously, free from the four courses of *agati.*† His Queen-consort, who was at the head of sixteen thousand wives, became the mother of two sons and a daughter. The eldest was called *Râma pandit* (Doctor), the second was named Prince *Lakkhana,* and the daughter *Sità-devì.*‡ Sometime afterwards the queen-consort died. Upon this event the King was afflicted for some time; and, being consoled by his ministers, he performed what was necessary to be done, and married another queen.§ She bore him love and affection, and in process of time conceived, and‖ bore him a son. He was named prince *Baratha.* From the love which he bore to the son, the King said to the Queen, 'Dear,¶ I shall confer a boon; accept (it).' *Behaving as having accepted it,*** or, as if she were

* Làbho alàbho ayaso yasocha, nindà pasansàcha sukhancha dukkhan, Etecha dhammà manu jesu nichchan, etc.

'Profit and loss; fame and disgrace; praise and censure; and happiness and sorrow; are the (eight) laws which doubtless govern mankind.'

† 'Favor, anger, fear, and ignorance.'

‡ Here the reader will observe a great departure from the Brahman story. Sità at this time was the sister of Râma,—not his wife.

§ Lit. 'installed another into the [place] of Queen-consort.'

‖ Laddha gabbha parihàrà. 'She who received the (necessary) protection to the fœtus.'

¶ *Bhadda.*

** Yahitan katvà *tha*petvà—'behaving as if [she had] accepted.' *i. e.* 'inducing him by her manner to believe that she would accept the offer hereafter.'

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pleased at it, she (was silent for a time, and) went up to the king (one day), when the boy was seven or eight years of age and said to the King, 'Please your Majesty, a boon was conferred by you upon my son; give it to him now.' 'Dear, take it (replied the king). 'Sire, give the kingdom to my son.' The king snapping his fingers* wrathfully said, 'Wretch,† I have two sons as resplendent as two flames of fire,‡ and dost thou wish me to kill them, and give the kingdom to thy son?' (Whereupon) terrified she (quietly) entered her bed-chamber. On subsequent days, (nevertheless) she repeatedly asked the king to bestow the very kingdom (on her son). The king, still refusing her the boon, and reflecting 'that women were ungrateful and envious; and that either by means of forged writings§, or by means of a dishonest bribe,‖ the Queen might procure the death of his sons,' caused them to be summoned (to his presence), communicated the same (his misgivings) to them, and said, 'Children some calamity may befall you if you live here; go (therefore) to a foreign country or to the woods; return at the time of my funeral obsequies;** and assume the sovereignty to which you are lineally entitled.' So saying he sent

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* Snapping one's fingers is indicative of extreme surprize, combined with feelings of disappointment, sorrow, or anger.

† *Vasala*—'low, mean, vile person.'

‡ This comparison, though objectionable in a rhetorical point of view, is nevertheless, frequently met with in Oriental works.

§ *Kûta pannan.*

‖ *Kûta lanchhan.*

** *Dhûma-kàle.*

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for astrologers*, and inquired of them how long he would live; and, having learnt that he would live a further period of twelve years, said, 'Sons, return after twelve years from hence, and ascend the throne.' The princes saying, 'Well,' saluted the King, and went down the mansion weeping. Sìtâ-devi (hearing this) said, 'I too will go with my brothers,' saluted the king, and proceeed with them, weeping.

These three persons, accompanied with a large retinue left the (city), and, dismissing them (after they had gone some distance), gradually reached *Himavanta* (Forest of Himaleyâ), and built a dwelling in a locality which had the advantage of water and herbs, and abounded with various fruits: and living on them they dwelt there. Pandit Lakkhana and his sister Sìtà supplicated Ràma, and obtained his consent (to the following proposal)—'you stand to us in the position of a father, therefore tarry you here, we shall fetch herbs and fruits and maintain you.'

From thence Râma was altogether at home, and the others nourished him with herbs and fruits. Whilst they were thus dwelling, living upon herbs and fruits, king Dasaratha, owing to the grief for his sons, died (a premature death) in the ninth year (after the departure of his sons). His queen, after the rites of cremation, said, 'Give the kingdom (lit. *chatta*), to my own son, prince Baratha.' The ministers, saying 'those who are entitled to the kingdom are in the forest,' did not comply (lit. did not give). (Whereupon), prince Baratha, (resolving), 'I will bring my brother Ràma from the

* *Nimittaka.*

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woods, and will set him up on the throne,' proceeded with the four-bodied army, and the five-fold royal insignia* to the locality where Ràma dwelt; and pitching their tents near it, Baratha with several ministers, went to his residence at a time when Lakkhana and Sìtà had gone to the woods. He met Ràma at the door of his residence, in the enjoyment of health, and quietly seated like a firm golden statue. Having accosted him, and taken his respectful distance, Baratha informed him of the news regarding the King, and wept with his ministers falling down at the feet of Ràma. But, Ràma neither wept nor sorrowed. In him there was not the slightest emotion. In the evening whilst Baratha was (yet) weeping the other two returned with herbs and fruits.

Whereupon Ràma (thus) pondered, 'These are children. They have not, as I have, the wisdom of *pariganhana*.† If at once it be said to them, *your father is dead*, unable to bear the grief, their hearts will be rent. I shall (therefore) by some device get them to descend into the water, and shall then cause the intelligence to be conveyed (to them). He then pointing at a pond opposite to them spoke in a couplet thus:— 'You have come very late, let this be a punishment for you. Get down into this water and stand. Lakkhana and Sìtà come ye both and descend into the water.'

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* *Pancha ràja kakudha bhandà.*

† The wisdom of taking things easy, of accepting all things with complaisance, of submitting to every condition of life.

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[Its import is as follows:—*Ettha Lakkhana Sità cha* i. e. let them come; and do ye both descend into the water.]

They at once descended and stood (as desired); when, communicating to them the (sad) intelligence, Ràma gave utterance to the remaining couplet.

'This Baratha says thus,—*king Dasaratha is dead.*'

The moment they heard the intelligence of their father's death, they became insensible. It was again conveyed to them, and they again became insensible. When they had thus fainted for the third time, his ministers raised and lifted them up from the water and set them down on the ground. After they had recovered, all of them reciprocated their grief and wept and bewailed. Baratha (however) pondering, 'this brother Lakkhana, and sister Sìtà, from the moment they heard the intelligence of their father's death, are unable to restrain their grief; but Râma sorrows not and weeps not. I shall therefore inquire of him the cause of his non-sorrowing,' uttered the second stanza for the (purpose of) that inquiry.

'Having heard the death of a father sorrow distresses thee not. Ràma, by what power doest thou not grieve for that which should be grieved for?'

[Here *pabhàva* 'power' signifies *ànubhàva* 'might;'—*natan pasahati'ti,* i. e. from what cause is it that sorrow like this oppresses thee not? Declare first the cause which is non-productive of sorrow.]

Ràma then addressing him thus explained the reason why he sorrowed not:—

i. 'If a person by great grief cannot protect a thing, wherefore should a wise and discreet man distress himself?

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ii. 'The young as well as the old, the ignorant as well as the wise; and the poor as well as the rich—all are (alike) subject to death.

iii. 'The ripe fruit is ever in danger of dropping down; so likewise man that is born (of a woman) is always in danger of death.

iv. 'Many people are seen in the morning (of whom) some disappear in the evening, (and again), many people are seen in the evening (of whom) some disappear in the morning.'

v. 'If a stupid person, who weeps afflicting himself, can derive any profit, then indeed should the wise man do the same.'

vi 'He who torments himself (by sorrow) becomes lean, and (colourless) cheerless: by sorrow the dead are not saved, it is vain (therefore) to weep.'

vii. 'As a house involved in flames is extinguished with water, so likewise, the steady, well-informed intelligent and learned man speedily destroys the sorrow that is begotten (the felt sorrow) as the wind (drives away a tuft of) cotton.'

viii. 'Alone is man born in a family—alone does he depart: the chief end of the enjoyment of all beings is their very association together (for a time).'

ix. 'Wherefore, the heart of the wise and well-informed, who sees both this and the world to come, and who knows the *Dhamma*,* is not inflamed even by exceeding great sorrow.'

x. 'Thus, I who know exactly what should be done, shall, seeing and enjoying, nourish [my] relations, and protect all the rest.'

* Nature of all things; especially the eight realities of life. See *Atthaloka dhamma* at p. 176.

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By these stanzas he has proclaimed the transientness [of existence]. There *pàlitun* means 'protect'; *lapitan* 'from amongst those who lament.' What was said [meant by the stanza i.] is the following:—

1. "Child, Baratha, from amongst the many people who grieve, not a single one can protect the life of a being by saying 'separate not' [So] now, wherefore should I, who am [*viññu*] wise by reason of my knowing exactly the eight realities of life,* and [*medhàvi*] who am learned, distress myself with unavailing sorrow and grief upon final bereavement, when death separates the lives of beings?

2. The stanza *daharàchà*, etc., was said to convey, "Child Baratha, this death is not ashamed of the 'young' [whether] they be princes of *Khattiya* race, or are as [beautiful] as gold images; neither of the 'old,' who are great giants, nor of 'ignorant' beings; nor of the 'wise' such as Buddha, etc., nor of the [great] 'rich,' such as a *Chakka-watti* or universal monarchs, nor of the 'poor' who are destitute of food or raiment. All beings [*machchu paràyana*] are rent and demolished in the mouth of death."

3. *Papatanà* [in the stanza iii.] means *papatanato* 'by dropping down.' This was said to convey "Child Baratha, 'the ripe fruit' i. e. [the fruit] from the time it is ripe [when one knows that] it will now drop down separated from the stem, that it will even now fall down,—[*nichchan*] is sure and certain of dropping down: so, undoubtedly the calamity of death is inevitable to man that is born [of a woman]. There is no

* *Atthaloka dhamma.*

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moment or period of time* at which it may be doubted that man will not die.

4. *Sàvan'ti* [in stanza iv.] means 'evening': thence it declares that persons who are seen at night disappear in the day time, and those who are seen in the day time disappear at night.

5. *Kinchidattan'ti* [in stanza v.] means 'if the stupid man who weeps exclaiming '*O my son! O my father!* etc., and afflicting and distressing himself derives even a very trifling benefit': *kairamenan vichakkhane'ti* 'then the wise also should weep. But, since a man by weeping cannot bring back the dead or do him any other benefit, and since therefore weeping is unprofitable, the learned weep not.

6. *Attànomattano'ti* [in stanza vi.] means 'one by distressing himself with sorrow, weeping, and grief,' *tenàti* 'by that weeping' the beings that have gone to the other world *napàlenti* are not saved, *niratthàti* therefore this weeping for those who are dead is in vain.

7. *Saranànti* [in stanza vii.] means 'a dwelling house.' This was said to convey, that as a wise man, whose house is involved in fire, extinguishes it with hundreds and thousands of pots of water without delaying even a moment: so the wise man promptly allays the sorrow that is begotten, and destroys it like a tuft of cotton which [when raised by] the wind cannot stand.

8. *Ekova machcho ti* [in stanza viii.] was said to convey, 'Child Baratha, mankind have *kamma* alone for their own. Indeed one who goes from hence into an-

* *Khena laya*—two measures of time; the first answering to ten seconds, and second to $10 \times 10 = 100$ seconds.—See *Abhidhànapadipikà*.

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other world, goes away alone. Although born in the very race of Khattiya, etc., he is born alone. Whereever [born] he by ties of relationship or friendship [casually obtains what may be called] 'this my father,' 'this my mother,' or 'this my friend.' But, *san yoga paramattova sambhogà sabba pàninan ti* [in the highest sense] in point of fact he has *kamma* alone for his own in the three worlds; because apart from the simple association and the company of friends and relations there is nothing hereafter.

9. *Tasenà sampassato imancha parancha lokan'ti* signifies [in stanza ix.] one who sees the very *nànà bhàva** and *vinâ bhâva ;*† *aññàya dhamman ti,* having known the eight-laws of nature; *hadayan mananchà ti,* these two are the names for one and the same, 'the heart.' *Làbho alàbho ayaso yaso cha*‡ *etc.* The sense [of stanza ix.] is 'the heart of the wise man who has a conception of these eight laws of nature, and moreover perceives its transientness, is not distracted by deep sorrow occasioned by the death of a father or son. Or [in other words] great sorrow does not distress the mind and heart of the wise who knows the eight laws of nature.'

10. *Sohan dassancha bhokkhanchà ti* in stanza (x.) is 'Child Baratha, it is not proper for me to weep and lament like ignorant people. After my father's demise, when I shall have succeeded him, I shall give charities to the poor, offices to those who are entitled to them, and bounties to such as may deserve them; I shall enjoy

* Destruction of all things.

† Separation from all things.

‡ See note at p. 176.

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prosperity in the manner in which my father has done; I shall nourish my relations, protect others, such as my attendants, etc., and righteously maintain and patronize religious *Samanas* and Brahmans. Such is the proper conduct of an intelligent and wise person.'

The attendants who had heard this sermon of Pandit Ràma, declaring the transientness of things, were consoled. Afterwards Prince Baratha, saluting Ràma, said, 'Accept the kingdom of Bârânasì.' 'Child, take Lakkhana and Sìtà, and rule the kingdom.' '[Why not] Your Highness?' 'Child, my father said to me, *Assume the kingdom by returning after twelve years;* if I go now I would not be acting up to his word. I shall therefore go after the expiration of the remaining three years.' 'Who will reign until then?' 'Do ye.' 'We cannot.' Then (saying) 'until I come these shoes will reign,' he took out his shoes made of grass [straw], and gave them [to Baratha]. Those three people, taking the shoes, and saluting the Pandit went with their retinue to Bàrànasì. The shoes reigned for three years. The ministers, placing the straw-shoes on the Throne, administered justice. Whenever they committed an act of injustice the shoes struck each other. From that warning [sign] they reheard the case. But, whenever they adjudicated justly the shoes remained silent.

The Pandit, after the expiration of the three years, left the wood, and, having reached Bàrànesì, entered the royal Park. The Princes learning his arrival entered the Park attended with ministers, installed Sìtà [into the office of] Queen-consort, and performed the ceremony of consecration on both. The *Mahà satta*, who had been thus consecrated, ascended an ornamented

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carriage, entered the city with a large retinue, and, after receiving reverential salutation, ascended the upper story of his magnificent mansion called *Suchandaka*. From thence he reigned righteously for sixteen thousand years and went into heaven.

Dasa vassa sahassàni satthin vassa satànicha
Kambu gìvo mahà bàhu Ràma rajjam'akàrayi ti.

Ràmà of golden neck, and of mighty powers
Rul'd for centuries sixty and ten-thousand years.

This stanza of Buddha conveys *that*. [i. e. it conveys the fact as regards the number of years above indicated]. Here *kambu gìvo ti* means 'a neck like a golden drum,' *kambu* being used to express 'gold.'

Buddha having delivered this Sermon, *applied** the Jàtaka to the matter in hand: and after the explanation of the *chatusatya* [the four verities] the husbandman attained the paths. Dasaratha of that period is [now] king Suddhodana; the mother [of Râma], Maha Mâyâ; Sìtà, Ràhulamàtà; Baratha, Ànanda; Lakkhana, Sàriputta; the retinue, the attendants of Buddha; and Râma,—I.

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* *Samodhànesi*—'applied by way of comparison,' but I find M. Fausball has rendered it 'summed up.' (?)

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THE TEXT

OF THE

ATTANAGALU-VANSA.

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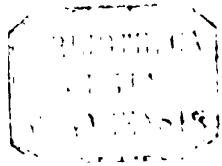

HATTHAVANAGALLA VIHÁRA VANSO.

හත්ථවනගල්ල විහාරවංසො.

නමො තස්ස භගවතො අරහතො සම්මා සම්බුද්ධස්ස.

Cap. I.

1. සෙනහුත්තරාය හදයාමලමල්ලිකාය
පජ්ජලිතො මතිදසාය ජිනප්පදිපො
මොහන්ධකාරම'ඛිලං මම නීහරන්තො
නිච්චං විභාවයතු චාරු පදප්පරාසිං

2. ලංකාභිසිත්ත වසුධාධිපතීසු රාජ
යො බොධිසත්තගුණවා සිරිසංඝබොධි
තස්සා'තිචාරු චරියා රචනාමුඛෙන
වක්ඛාමි හත්ථවනගල්ල විහාරවංසං.

3. බ්‍රහමන්වයෙන'ත්‍රගතත්ථම'නොමදස්සි
ඛ්‍යාතෙන සබ්බ යතිරාජ ධුරන්ධරෙණ
ව්‍යාපාරිතො'හම්'තිහාත්‍රගතා කථච
නිස්සාය පුබ්බලිඛිතං චි'ධ වායමාමි

4. අත්ථි සුගතාගම සුධාපගා නිඩොත කුදිඝි විස ක
ලංකාය ලංකාය භගවතො අඟිරසස්ස මහානාගවත්‍ර

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යානෙ සමිතිසමාගත යක්ඛරක්ඛසලොක විජයා'පදා
න සිඛක්ඛෙත්තභූතො සීහළ මහීමඩල මඩනායමා
නො විවිධරතනාකරොපලක්ඛමාණ මහග්ඝ මණිහෙ
දෙ මණිහෙදෙනාම ජනපදෙ.

5. ලඛාන සත්ථු චරණඞ්කම'නඤ්ඤලබ්භ
ම'ානන්දිනා සුමනකූට සිලුච්චයෙන
උස්සාපිතා විජයකෙතු මතල්ලිකෙ'ව
සුඛොරුවාලුක නදියම'ලංකරොති.

6. ලංකාය යක්ඛගණ නීහරණෙ ජිනස්ස
චම්මාසනුග්ගතහුතාසන එස්සදාභා
සංසාරරක්ඛස වපුබ්භව බුබ්බුලං'ව
යස්මිං විභාති මහියඟන ථූපරාජා.

7. සදා මහොඝාය මහාපගාය
පානීය පානාය සමොසටානං
සමුච්චයො සාරද වාරිදානං
නූනං ගතො ථාවර ථූපරූපං.

8. තස්සා'පගාය විමලඹුනි දිස්සමාන
ම'ාලොලවීචිතරලං පටිබිඹ රූපං
භොගෙහි වෙයිය නිජම් භවනම් එණීහි
පූජත්ථිකෙහි විය රාජති නීයමානං.

9. තස්ස මහියඟන මහා විහාරස්ස පරියන්තගාමකෙ
සෙලාභයොනාම ඛත්තියො පටිවසන්තො පුත්තං පටි
ලභිත්වා අඟලක්ඛණ පාඨකානං දස්සෙසි. තෙ තස්ස
කුමාරස්ස අඟලක්ඛණනි ඔලොකෙත්වා "අයං කුමාරො
ඔමකසත්තො න හොති ධඤ්ඤපුඤ්ඤලක්ඛණ සම්ප
න්නො සකලම්'පි සීහළදීපං එකච්ඡත්තං කරිත්වා මහන්
තමහන්තානි අච්ඡරියබ්භූතානි මහාවීරචරිතානි දස්
සෙස්සති"..'ති ව්‍යාකරිංසු. තතො සෙලාභය ඛත්තියො
පුත්තස්ස අභිසෙකාදි සම්පත්තිං සුත්වා කොටිප්පත්ත
පමොදපරවසො'පි තස්මිං කාලෙ අනුරාධපුරෙ රජ්ජං
කාරයතා "වොහාරතිස්ස මහාරාජතො කදාචි කොචි

උපද්දවො ජායිස්සති"..'තිජාතපරිසංකො නං කුමාරක
ම'ාදය මහියඟනමහාවිහාරෙ බොධිඅඟනෙ පරිත්ත
ඟෙහ සන්නිපතිතස්ස නන්දමහාථෙර පමුඛස්ස මහාභි
ක්ඛුසංඝස්ස මජ්ඣෙ නිපජ්ජාපෙත්වා"එසො මෙ භන්
තෙ කුමාරෙ මහාසංඝස්ස ච මහා බොධිපාදපස්සච ස
රණංගච්ඡති තං සබ්බෙ'පි භදන්තා රක්ඛන්තු සංඝ
බොධි නාමකො චා'යං හොතු"..'ති මහාසංඝස්සච
බොධිදෙවතාය ච නියඝ තෙත්වා පටිජඟන්තො කුමා
රස්ස සත්තවස්සික කාලෙ කාලම'කාසි.

10. අථ මාතුලො නන්දමහාථෙරෙ කුමාරකං වි
හාරමා'නෙත්වා පටිජඟන්තො තෙපිටකං බුඩවච
නං උඟ්ගණ්හාපෙත්වා බාහිරසත්ථෙසු ච පරමකො
විදං කාරෙසි. සංඝබොධිකුමාරෙ'පි කතාධිකාරත්තා
ත්කඛපඤ්ඤත්තාච ඤාණසම්පන්නො හුත්වා වයප්ප
තෙතා ලොකස්ස ලොචන නිපීයමානාය රූපසම්පත්
තියා සවනඡලිපුටෙහි අස්සාදියමාන සදාචාරගුණ
සම්පත්තියා ච පත්ථටයසොඝොසො අහොසි.

11 කිමි'හ බහුනා—කාදඹිනී කදඹතො සිනිඩ
නීලායතගුණං ධම්මිල්ලකලාපෙ—පරිපුණ්ණ හරිණ
ඩකමඩලතො හිලාදකරපසාද සොම්මගුණං මුඛමඩ
ලෙ—චාමීකර පිඡරකඹුවරතො මෙදුරෙදුරබන්ධුර
භාවංගීවාවයවෙ—කල්‍යාණසිලුච්චයතො සංහතවිලාසං
උරත්ථලෙ—සුරසාඛිසාඛතො පීවරයතලලිතරූපං කා
මදානාපදානච බාහුයුගලෙ—සමද ගන්ධ සින්ධුරතො
ගමනලීල්හං කරාකරච සත්ථියුගලෙ—චාරුතර ථරු
විරෙචමාන චාමීකරමුකුරතො තදාකාරං සජානුමඩලෙ
ජඞ්ඝායුගලෙ—නිච්චාසීන කමලා කමලතො රත්තකො
මලදලසිරිං චරණයුගලෙ—ආදාය'යොජයතා පාරමිතා
ධම්මසිප්පිනා නිම්මිතස්ස පරමදස්සනීය රූපවිලාසස්
ස තස්ස අත්තභාවස්ස සංවණ්ණනා ගන්ථගාරවමා
'වහති.

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12. දෙහෙ සුලක්ඛණයුතෙ නවයොබ්බනඩ්ඪෙ
තස්සු'ජ්ජලෙ වපසමාහරණෙදයෙන
කා වණ්ණනා කමලරූපිණී ජාතරූපෙ
ලොකුත්තරං පරිමලං පරිතො වහන්තෙ

13. දෙසාරයො හදය දුග්ගහ පුරෙ විජිත්වා
තත්‍ථා'භිසිච්ච සුහදං විය ධම්ම භූපං
අත්‍ථානුසාසනිමි'මස්ස වදං ගිරාය
තත්‍ථ ප්පවත්තයි සුධී නිජකායකම්මං.

ඉති රාජකුමාරුප්පත්ති පරිච්ඡෙදෙ පඨමො.

Cap. II.

1. අථෙ' කදා මාතුලමාහාථෙරො වයප්පත්තං සිරිසං ඝබොධි කුමාරං ධම්මසවනාවසානෙ ආමන්තෙත්වා එවමා හ. "කුමාර මහාභාගධෙය්‍ය ඉදානි ත්ව ම'සි අධිත සුගතාගමො විදිත සකල බාහිරසත්‍ථො චතුබ්බිධ පඬිච්චකොටිප්පත්තො. තථා'පි අභිමානධනෙ ඛත්තිය කුලෙ ජාති; සබ්බත්‍ථ ව්‍යාපිනා යොබ්බන විලාසෙන සමලඞ්කතං සරීරං; අප්පටිමා රූපසිරී; අමානුසං බලං චෙ'ති මහතී බලවනත්‍ථපරම්පරා, සබ්බාවිනයානමෙ'කෙ කම්'පි තෙසමා'යතනං. කිමුත සමවායො?. යෙභුයේ‍යන සත්‍ථසලිලවික්ඛාලණ'තිනිම්මලා'පි කාලුසිය මු'පයාති බුඩි. අනුජ්ඣිතධවලතාවා'පි සරාගා එව භවති නවයොබ්බනගබ්බිතානං දිඝී. අපහරති වාතමඬලී කෙ'ව ච සුක්ඛපන්නං උබ්භූතරජො සංහති අතිදූර ම'ත්තනො ඉච්ඡාය යොබ්බනසමයෙ පුරිසම් පකතී. ඉන්ද්‍රියහරිණහාරිණී සතතම'තිදූරං ගතා අය මු'පභොගමිගතණ්ඩිකා. තස්මා අය මෙ' වා'නස්සාදිත විසයරසස්ස තෙ කාලො ගුරූපදෙසස්ස. මදනසරප්පභාර ජ්ජරිතෙ හදයෙ ජලමි'ව ගලති ගුරූණම'නුසාසනං. අකාරණමා'වහති දුප්පකතිනො කුලංවා සුතංවා අවිනයස්ස. චන්දනප්පභවො න දහති කිං දහනො?. කිංවා

පසමහෙතුනා'පි නා'තිවඩතරෙ භවති වළබානලො සලිලෙන? තස්මා ගාල්හතර ම'නුසාසිතබ්බො'සි.

2. අපගතමලෙ හි මනසි එලිකමණ්ඩ්ගි විය රජනිකර මයුඛා පවිසන්ති සුඛමුපදෙසගුණ. ගුරුවචනම'මලම'පි සලිලම්'ව මහන්තංජනිමු'පජනයති සවනගතං සූලම්'ව අභබ්බස්ස. භබ්බස්සතු කරිණෙ විය සංඛාභරණ මා'නනසොභා සමුදයම'ඛිකතරමු'පවහති. අනාදිසිඛ තණ්හා කසායිතිඤ්ඤියා' නුවරංහි චිත්තං නා'වහති කන්නාමා'නප්ඵං. තස්මා රජකුමාරාණච යතිනච ස තිබලෙන ඉඤ්ඤියවිජයො දිඬ්ඨම්මික සම්පරායික ම'ඛිලං කල්‍යාණ ජාතමු'පජනයති. ඉඤ්ඤිය විජයො ච සම්භවති ගුරුවඩ්ඩොපසෙවාය තබ්බචනම'විරාධෙත්වා පටිපජ්ජතො. තස්මා තයා ආපාන පරියන්තං වත්ථුත්තය සරණපරායණතා න පහා තබ්බා. න රාගාපස්මාරවිබොධනං විසය දහණ සලිල සංසෙවනං කාතබ්බං. පස්සතුහි කල්‍යාණහිනිවෙසි චක්ඛුඤ්ඤිය ලාලන පරවසස්ස සලභස්ස සමුජ්ජ්ලිත දීපසිඛා පතනං. සොතිඤ්ඤිය සුඛානුයුත්තස්ස තරුණ හරිණස්ස උසුපාත සම්මුඛීභවනං. ඝාණිඤ්ඤිය පරවසස්ස මධු කරස්ස මදවාරණ කණ්ණතා ලහණනං. රසනිඤ්ඤිය තප්පනව්‍යසනිනො පුථුලොමස්ස බලිසාමිය ඝාස ව්‍යසනං. ඵස්සිඤ්ඤියානුභවන ලාලසස්ස මතගජස්ස වාරිණී බන්ධනාපායං. ඉමෙහි ඉඤ්ඤියෙහි මිලිතෙහි එකස්ස කාමිනො සකිදෙව පචණ්ණං විසය රසානමු'පසෙවාය පත්තබ්බං මහන්තං දුක්ඛජාලං කථමු'පවණ්ණයාම. ඉමානි ච සුභාසිතානි පච්චවෙක්ඛතු අනුක්ඛණං විචක්ඛණෙ.

3. නා'ගාරිකං සුඛමු'දික්ඛති කිචි ධීරෙ
ජානාති දෙහ පටිජග්ගනම'ප්ඵතො වෙ
සංසෙවතො'පි යුවතිං රතිමොහිතස්ස
කඬුයනෙ විය වනස්ස සුඛාභිමානො.

4. කො සෙවෙය්‍ය පරං පොසො අවමානං සහෙය්‍යච
න වෙ කලත්ත නිගලං යදි දුක්ඛ නිබන්ධනං.

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5. ආකඩ්ඪමානා විසිඛා සමීපං
පරම්මුඛායෙ'ව සදා පවත්තා
දූරම්'පි ගච්ඡන්ති ගුණං විහාය
පවත්තනං තාදිසමෙ'වජීනං.

6. අසන්ථුතං කාපුරිසම්'පි අන්තො
කරොන්ති ආදාස කතා'ව භිත්ති
නෙත්තිංස වල්ලී විය හත්ථගා'පි
දසාසු සබ්බාසු ච සංකනියා.

7. අන්තොරුඛා බහිඛා'පි නිස්සාසා විය නාරියො
කරොන්ති නාසමෙ'වස්ස කොඩිමා තාසු විස්සසෙ.

8. මානසං පාප සන්නිත්තං අපායා විවටානනා
සමන්තා පාප මිත්තාච මොක්ඛො සබ්බභයා කථං.

9. අපිච හදය තරුකොටර කුටීරෙ කොධ කුඩලී න කදාචි බහිකාතබ්බො. අපිතු ත්තික්ඛා මන්තෙන අවිප්ඵන්දත්තං උපනෙතබ්බො.

10. සතං තිතික්ඛා කවචෙ විගුණ්ඨිතා
සියුං දුරාලාපබගා බලානං
සභා පසංසා කුසුමත්තමෙ'තා
නිබජ්ඣරෙ තා ගුණමාලිකාය.

11. ලොකාධිපච්චං විපුලෙ ධනෙ ච
මනොනුකූලෙ තනයෙ ච දාරෙ
ලඛා'පි යා යෙති න ජාතු තිත්තිං
බාධෙතු සා තං න පපච තණ්හා.

12. වණ්ණප්පසාදා යසසා සුඛා ච
ධනා ච හායන්තු'පජීවිතා ච
යෙනා'භිභූතා රිපුනෙ'ව සත්තා
දොසග්ගි සො තෙ හදයං ජහාතු.

13. ඛෙදො විපත්තීසු පටික්‍රියා න
තස්මා න දීනප්පකතිං භජෙය්‍ය
පඤ්ඤානුයාතං රියං වදන්ති
සබ්බත්ථ සිඛිග්ගහණ ග්ගහත්ථං.

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14. ව්‍යාපාරා සබ්බ භූතානං සුඛත්ථාය විධීයරෙ
සුඛච න විනා ධම්මං තස්මා ධම්මපරොභව."

15. එවමා'දිකං සප්පුරිසනීතිපථං ආදිසන්තෙ මහා ථෙරෙ තෙන කල්‍යාණ ධම්මෙන අසොතබ්බතා'නාදරි ය රචිත භකුටිත මුඛෙන වා දිසාවික්ඛිත්ත චක්ඛුනා වා අහං කාර පරවසෙන ගජනිමීලිතමු'ඛ්භාවයතා වා අත් තනො පඤ්ඤ ධිඤ්ඤෙපම්'ව ච අවිචින්තයතා චූලාවිනිඝි තකොමලජලිපුටෙන තන්නිනෙනන තප්පොනෙන සි රසා ච පීති සමුදිත සාධුවාද විකසිත කපොලෙන මුඛෙ න ච සකලාවයව විත්ථටරොමච කඤ්චුකිතෙන දෙහෙන ච භූමියං නිපජ්ජිත්වා දීඝප්පමානා පණ්ණමමා'චරතා මග්ග ඵල ලාභතො විය විසිඬ්තරං පමුදිතමා'චිකතමා'සි.

ඉති අනුසාසන පරිච්ඡෙදෙ දුතියො.

Cap. III.

1. තතො පඬාය යථාවුත්තං පටිපදං අවිරාධෙත්වා සමාචරණෙන සන්තුඬො තස්ස සංඝබොධිසමඤ්ඤං ගොපෙතුකාමො මාතුල මහාථෙරො "ධම්මිකො"..'ති වොහාරං පඬපෙසි.

2. ලක්ඛණ පාඨකානං වචනං සද්දහන්තො භා ගිනෙය්‍යං පබ්බජිතුකාමම්'පි අපබ්බාජෙත්වා "ඉධ වාසතො අනුරාධපුරෙ වාසො යෙ'ව කුමාරස්ස යො ගඤ්ඤොමාවහො පුඤ්ඤානුරූපෙණ ජායමානස්ස විපා කස්ස ච ඨානං හොති මහාචෙතියස්ස වත්තපටිවත්ත ස මාචරණෙන ච මහනෙතා පුඤ්ඤක්ඛන්ධො සම්පජ්ජි ස්සති"..'ති මඤ්ඤමානො තං කුමාරමා'දාය ගච්ඡන්තො අනුරාධ පුරං ගන්තුකාමො නික්ඛමි. සංඝතිස්සො ගො ඨාභයො'ති ච ලඹකණ්ණ රාජකුමාරා අපරෙ'පි දුවෙ තස්ස පංසුකීලනතො පඬාය සහායා තෙන කුමාරෙණ සඛිං නික්ඛමිංසු. තෙ තයො කුමාරෙ ආදාය ගච්ඡන්තො මහාථෙරො පුරෙතර'මෙව අනුරාධපුරං පාවිසි. මහාථෙර

මනුගච්ඡන්තෙසු තෙසු කුමාරෙසු ජෙඨො සංඝතිස්සො මජ්ඣිමො සංඝබොධි කනිඨො ගොඨාභයො'ති තෙ ථෙරං පච්ඡතො අනුගච්ඡන්තො තයො'පි පටිපාටියා තිස්සවාපියා සෙතුමත්ථකෙන ගච්ඡන්ති.

3. තත්ථ සෙතුසාලාය නිසිනෙනා කොචි අන්ධො විචක්ඛණෙ තෙසං තිණ්ණන්නං කුමරාණං පදවිඤ්ඤාස සද්දං සුත්වා ලක්ඛණනුසාරෙණ උපපරික්ඛිත්වා "එතෙ තයො'පි සීහළදීපෙ පඨවිස්සරා භවිස්සන්ති"..'ති තත්ථ නිසිනනානං ව්‍යාකාසි. තං වචනං පච්ඡාගච්ඡන්තො ගොඨාභයො සුත්වා ඉතරෙසං ගච්ඡන්තානං අනිවෙදයිත්වා පච්ඡා'ගම්ම "කතමො චිරං රජ්ජං කාරෙස්සති වංසඨිතිං ච කරොති"..'ති පුච්ඡිත්වා "පච්ඡිමො"..'ති වුත්තෙත හඬපහඬො උදග්ගුදග්ගො සීඝතරං ආගම්ම තෙහි සඛිං ගච්ඡන්තො තිඛිණ මන්තිතාය ගම්භීරභාවතො ච කචි අජානාපෙත්වා අන්තොපුරං පාවිසි. තෙ තයො'පි පතිරූපෙ නිවාසෙ වාසං ගණ්හිංසු.

4. අථ කනිඨො "එතෙ ඛෙ'පි අප්පායුකත්තා රජ්ජෙ පතිඨිතා'පි න චිරංජ්වන්ති කිර අහමෙ'ව රජ්ජං දාපෙස්සාමි"..'ති තදනුරූපෙණ උපායෙන පටිපජ්ජන්තො තෙසං රජ්ජලාභාය උපායං දස්සෙන්තො අභිණ්හං මන්තෙති. ජෙඨො'පි තස්මිං අතිපියායමානො තෙනො'ප දිඨ මෙ'ව සමාචරන්තො රාජානං දිස්වා ලඛ සම්මානො සබ්බෙසු රාජකිච්චෙසු පුබ්බඟමො හුත්වා න චිරස්සෙ'ව රාජවල්ලභො අහොසි. තස්මිං කාලෙ රජ්ජං කාරෙන්තො විජයරාජා නාම ඛත්තියො පසන්නො සබ්බෙසු රාජකිච්චෙසු තමෙ'ව පධානභූතං කත්වා සෙනාපතිං අකාසි.

5. ධම්මිකො පන රජ්ජෙනා 'නත්ථිකතාය රජ්ජලාභාය චිත්තම්'පි අනුප්පාදෙත්වා කෙවලං මහාථෙරස්ස අනුසාසන මත්තෙනෙ'ව රාජුපඨාන වෙලායං අනුචරණ මත්ත මා'චරන්තො රාජගෙහං පවිසිත්වා තතො තෙහි

සඞ්ඝං නික්ඛම්ම සායං මහාථෙරස්ස විහාරෙයෙ'ව වසන්
තො අත්තනො ධම්මිකානුඨානං අහාපෙත්වා මහාවෙ
තියොපඨාන ගිලානුපඨානාදිකං අනවජ්ජධම්ම මා'ව
රනෙතා කාලං විතිනාමෙති.

6. තදා සඞ්ඝතිස්සො සකල රජ්ජච පුරච අත්තනො
හත්ථගතං කත්වා එකස්මිංදිනෙ ලඞ්කාසො රාජානං
අන්තොභවනෙයෙ'ව ගොඨාභයෙන මාරාපෙත්වා සයං
රජ්ජෙ පතිඨහි.

ඉති අනුරාධපුරප්පවෙස පරිච්ඡෙදෙ තතියො.

CAP. IV.

1. අථ ගොඨාභයො ධම්මිකං අනිච්ඡමානම්'පි සෙනා
පතිඨානෙ ඨපෙත්වා ආයතිං අපෙක්ඛමානො සයං භඩා
ගාරිකො අහොසි. අථ සංඝතිස්සො රාජා බහුං පුඤ්ඤච
අපුඤ්ඤච පසවන්තො ජඹුඵල පාකකාලෙ සසෙනො
සාමච්චො සහොරොධො අභිණහං පාචීනදෙසං ගන්
ත්වා ජඹුඵලානිඛාදති. රඤ්ඤො යෙභුයෙන ගමනා
ගමනෙන උපද්දුතා රඨවාසිනො රජ්ජපභොගාරහෙසු
ජඹුඵලෙසු විසංයොජෙසුං. අථසො සංඝතිස්සරාජා තෙ
න විසෙන තත්ථෙ'ව කාලම'කාසි.

2. අථ ගොඨාභයො අන්ධ විචක්ඛණස්ස වචනං
අනුස්සරන්තො "අනුක්කමෙන රජ්ජං දාපෙත්වා පච්ඡා
අහං සුප්පතිඨො භවිස්සාමි"..'ති මඤ්ඤමානො සාමච්
චො සසෙනො සංඝබොධි කුමාරං රජ්ජෙන නිවන්තෙ
සි. සො තෙමිය මහාබොධිසත්තෙන දිඨාදිනවත්තා රජ්
ජසුඛා පරිච්චාගානුභූතං මහන්තං දුක්ඛජාලං අනුස්ස
රිත්වා පුනප්පුන යාචියමානො පටික්ඛිපියෙ'ව. අභයො
ගාම නිගමරාජධානිසු සබ්බෙ'පි මනුස්සෙ සන්නිපාතෙ

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ත්වා තෙහි සඞ්ඝං නානප්පකාරං යාචමානො'පි සම්පටි ච්ඡා පෙතුං නා'සක්ඛි. අථ සබ්බෙ'පි රඪවාසිනො සාවච්චා මහාවිහාරං ගන්ත්වා මහාසංඝං සන්නිපාතෙත්වා සංඝමජ්ඣෙ සංඝබොධිකුමාරං යාචිංසු. අථ සො සංඝ බොධි කුමාරො මහාසංඝං භූමියා නිපජ්ජ නමස්සිත්වා ලඩොකාසො එකමන්තං නිසීදිත්වා ඒවං වත්තු මා' රභි.

3. "අයංහි රජලක්ඛිනාම යථායථා දිප්පතෙ තථා තථා කප්පූර දීපසිඛෙ'ව කජ්ජල මලිනමෙ'ව කම්මජාතං කෙවල මු'ඛ්ඛහති. තථාහි අයං සංවඩන වාරිධාරා තණ්හා විස වල්ලීනං-නෙසාද මධුකර ගීතිකා ඉන්ද්‍රිය මිගානං-පරමාස ධූමලෙඛා සුචරිතචිත්ත කම්මස්ස-විඛ්භම සෙය්‍ය මොහනිද්දානං-තිමිරුග්ගති පඤ්ඤාදිඨිනං-පුරස්සර පතාකා අවිනය මහාසෙනාය-උප්පත්ති නින්නගා කොධවෙග කුම්භීලානං-ආපානභූමි මිච්ඡාදිඨියුව තීනං-සඟිතසාලා ඉස්සරිය විකාරනාටකානං-ආවාස දරී දෙසාසිවිසානං-උස්සාරණවෙත්තලතා සප්පුරිස වොහාරණං-අකාල ජලදාගමො සුචරිතහංසානං-පත්ථාවනා කපටනාටකස්ස-කදලිකා කාමකරිනො-වජ්ඣමාලා *සාධුභාවස්ස-රාහුමුඛං ධම්ම චන්ද මඬලස්ස. නහි තං පස්සාමි; යොහි අපරිචිතායා'පි එතාය නිඛ්භර මු'ප ගුල්හො න විප්පලඬො.

4. අපිච අභිසෙක සමයෙ'ව රජකඤ්ඤාණං මඟල කලස ජලෙහි විය වික්ඛාලණ මු'පයාති දක්ඛිඤ්ඤං-අග්ගිහුත්තධූමෙ නෙ'ව මලිනීභවති හදයං-පුරොහිත කුසග්ග සම්මජ්ජනෙන විය අපනීයතෙ තිතික්ඛා-උණ්හීස පට්ටබන්ධනෙන විය ඡාදිය්‍යති ජරාගමදස්සනං-ආතපත්ත මඬලෙන විය තිරොකරිය්‍යති පරලොකා පෙක්ඛණං-චාමර පවනෙන විය දූර මු'ඬ්ඩයතෙ සච්ච

* See Extract from *Kâdambarî* § 8 *post*.

චාදිතා-වෙත්තපහාරෙණ විය දූරමු'පයන්ති සග්ගුණ.

5. එකෙ රජ්ජ සිරිමදිරාමදමත්තාසකත්ථ නිප්ඵාදන පරෙහි ධනපිසිතඝාස ගිජ්ඣෙහි සභානලිනීඛකෙහි 'දූතං විනොදෙ'ති-පරදාරාභිගමනංවිදඬතා'ති-මිගවංප රිස්සාමො'ති-පානං විලාසො'ති-නිච්චප්පමත්තතං සූර භාවො'ති-සදාරපරිච්චාගං අව්‍යසනීයතා ති-ගුරුවචනා වඩිරණං අපරප්පච්චය නෙයත්තම්'ති-අජිතභච්චතං සු ඛොපසෙවනීයත්තම්'ති-නාච්චගීතගණ්ඨිකානුසත්ති ර සිකතෙ'ති-පරාභව සහභාවං ඛමෙ'ති-සෙරිභාවං පඬිච්චම්'ති-වන් දිජනවචනං යසොඝොසො'ති-තරලතං උ ස්සාහො'ති-අවිසෙසඤ්ඤූත්තං අපක්ඛපාතිත්ත ම්'ති' දෙසගණම්'පි ගුණපක්ඛෙ අජ්ඣාරොපයන්තෙහි ස යම්'පි අන්තො හසන්තෙහි පතාරණ කුසලෙහි ඛුත්තෙ හි අමානුස ලොකොචිතාහි ගීතථොමනාහි පතාරියමා ණ විත්ත මදමත්ත චිත්ත නිච්චෙතනතාය තථෙති— අත්තනිඅජ්ඣා රොපයන්තා අලිකාභිමානා මච්චධම්මා සමානා'පි දිබ්බංසාවතිනන ම්'ව සදෙවතම්'ව අමානුසම්' ව අත්තානංමඤ්ඤමානා ආරඬදිබ්බො චිතක්‍රියානු භාවා සබ්බ ජනාපහසනීය්‍ය භාවමු'පයන්ති. අත්තවිලඹනච අනුජීවිජනෙන කරිය්‍යමාණං අභිනන්දන්ති මනසා.

6. දෙවතාජ්ඣා රොපණප්පතාරණ සම්භූතා සම් භාවනොපගතාච අන්තොපවිඨ අපරභූජයුගං අත්ත භාවං සම්භාවයන්ති. තචන්තරිත ලොචනං සකලලාට 'මාසංකන්ති. අලික සම්භාවනාභි මානභරිතා න නමස් සන්ති දෙවතායො. න පූජයන්ති සමණ බ්‍රාහ්මණෙ. න මානයන්ති මානනීය්‍යෙ. න උපතිඨන්ති ගුරුදස්ස නෙ'පි.'අනත්ථකාසායන්තරිත විසයොපභොග සු ඛා'..'ති අපහසන්ති යතිනො. 'ජරාභි භව පලපිතම්'. 'ති න සුනන්ති වඩ ජනුපදෙසං. අත්තපඤ්ඤාභාවතො උසූ

යන්ති සච්චොපදෙසස්ස. කුජ්ඣන්ති එකන්තහිතවා දිනං. එවමා' දිනා කාරණෙන බහුන්නං දෙසානමා 'කරභූතං රජ්ජවිභවං අහං න ඉච්ඡාමි"..'ති අවොච.

7. අථ මහාජනෙන සාදර ම'ජ්ඣෙසිතො මහාසංඝො කුමාරාභිමුඛො හුත්වා "මහාභාගධෙය්‍ය ඵනචූවුකෙ ලගිතා ජලූකා තික්ඛ ඛසනෙන තත්ථ වෙදනුප්පාදයන්ති ලොහිතමෙ'ව ආකඩ්ඪන්ති දරකොපන කොමලෙන මුඛපුවෙන මාතුසුඛසඤ්ඤං උප්පාදයන්තො ඛීරමෙ'ව අව්හෙති. එවමෙ'ව රජ්ජවිභවං පත්තො අධිරෙ බාලො බහුං අපුඤ්ඤමෙ'ව සච්නොති. මෙධාවී ඛීරපුරිසොපන ආයුසංඛාරස්ස දුබ්බලත්තම ධනසචයස්ස නස්සරත්තම පඤ්ඤාය උපපරික්ඛිත්වා දසකුසලකම්මානි පුරෙන්තො තාදිසෙන මහතා භොගක්ඛන්ධෙන මහන්තං කුසලරාසිං උපච්ඡොති. ත්වම'සි කතාධිකාරෙ මහාසත්ත ධුරන්ධරෙ එතාදිසං පුඤ්ඤායතනඨානං ලඛාන ධම්මෙන සමෙන ලොකං පරිපාලෙන්තො සුගතසාසනං පග්ගණ්හන්තො දනපාරමිං කොටිප්පත්තං කත්වා පච්ඡා අභිනික්ඛමනම කරෙන්තො බොධපක්ඛිය ධම්මෙ පරිපාවෙහි"..'ති අනුසාසි.

8. අථ සො මහජ්ඣාසයො පුරිසවරෙ මහාසංඝස්ස අනුසාසනිං මද්දිතු ම'සමත්ථො අධිවාසෙසි.

අනන්තරම මහාජනකායො සංඝස්ස අනුඤ්ඤාය සකලං සීහළදීපං එකච්ඡත්තං කත්වා අභිසිචිය "ධම්මිකසිරිසංඝබොධිරාජ"..'ති වොහාරං පඨපෙසි. ගොඨාභය ච සෙනාපතිඨානෙ ඨපෙසි.

9. දනං අද ධාරයි නිච්චසීලං
වහි තිතික්ඛං භජි අප්පමාදං
පජාහිතජ්ඣාසය සොම්මරූපො
ධම්මො'ව සො විග්ගහවා විරොචි.

10. විඤ්ඤාය ලොකස්ස හි සො සභාවං
පධානවත්තා නුගතිප්පධානං
නිධාතුකාමො ජනතාසු ධම්මං
සයම්'පි ධම්මාචරණම්හි සත්තො.

ඉති රජ්ජාභිසෙක පරිච්ඡෙදො චතුත්ථො.

CAP. V.

1. සො රාජා මහාවිහාරෙ මහග්ඝං මහාවිසාලං සලාකග්ගං කාරාපෙත්වා අනෙකසහස්සානං භික්ඛූණං නිච්චසලාක භත්තං පඨපෙසි. මාතුල මහාථෙරස්සච සකනාමධෙය්‍යෙන මහන්තං පරිවෙනවිහාරං කාරාපෙත්වා, අනෙකෙහි කප්පියභඬෙහි සඞ්ඝං සපරිවාරකානි ගාමක්ඛෙත්තානි සංඝපරිභොගාරහානි කත්වා දාපෙසි. සත තමෙ'ව නිසිථකාලෙ රහොගතො මහාබොධිසත්තස්ස දුක්කරචරිතානි සල්ලක්ඛෙන්තො තාදිසා පදානම්-අත්තනි සම්පාදෙතුමා'සිංසි—තථාහි.

2. 'දෙහි'ති වත්ථුම'සුකං ගදිතො'ත්ථිකෙහි
නා'ලං කථෙතු මි'හ නත්ථි න දෙමි චා'ති
චිත්තෙ මහාකරුණයා පහටාවකාසා
දූරං ජගාම විය තස්සහි වත්ථුතණ්හා.

එවං ච'ම්හාකං බොධිසත්තස්ස විය බාහිර වත්ථුපරිච්චාග මහුස්සවො කදානු මෙ භවිස්සති'..,ති ච.

3. 'අනීය්‍යතෙ නිසිතසත්ථ නිපාතනෙන
නික්කඩ්ඪතෙ ච මුහුදාන භවාය රත්‍යා
එවම් පුනප්පුන ගතා ගතවෙගඛිත්තං
දුක්ඛං න තස්ස හදයං වත පීළයිත්ථ.

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එවං කිර'ස්ස මහාසත්තස්ස මංසලොහිතාදි අජ්ඣ තතික වත්ථුදාන සමයෙ දුක්ඛවෙදනා න සඞ්ඛෙසි. මමා'පි ඊදිසං අජ්ඣත්තිකදාන මඟලං කදා භවිස්ස තී'..'තිව.

4. 'සො සංඛපාලු භූජගො විසවෙගවා'පි
සීලස්ස භෙදන භයෙන අකුප්පමානො
ඉච්ඡං සදෙහ භරවාභිජනෙ දයාය
ගන්තුං සයං අපදතාය සුසොච නූනං.

එවං සීලරක්ඛණ පදාන සිරිං කදා විත්දාමි'..'තිව.

5. 'පිවෙය්‍ය ඨඤ්ඤං අමතං'ව බාලො
වුඩිංගතො සො'ව ජිගුච්ඡතෙ තං
ස ජාතුඑවං අනුභූය රජ්ජං
ඤාණස්ස පාකෙ සතතං ජහාති.

ඒවං මයා'පි අචිරස්සෙ'ව අවස්සං අභිනික්ඛමණං කා තබ්බන්'..'තිව.

6. 'සො සෙනකො චිජපසිබ්බක සායි සප්පං
අඤ්ඤාසි දොස කලුසාය ධිය'ඛ්භූතං තං
කා වණ්ණන'ස්ස බලු දොස විනිග්ගතාය
සබ්බඤ්ඤුතාය දසපාරමි සාධිතාය.

එවං විධා කල්‍යාණ ඤාණසම්පත්ති කදාමෙ සම්පජ්ජිස්සති'..'තිව.

7. 'වාලෙන සො කිසකලන්දක ජාතියම්'පි
උස්සිචිතුං සලිල මු'ස්සහි සාගරස්ස
තම් මුඩතාය න භවෙ මතියා මහත්‍ය
සම්පාදනාය' භිමතස්ස සමත්ථතාය.

එවං විධාය විරිය පාරමියා කදානු භාජනං භවිස්සාමි'..'තිව.

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8. 'කලාබුරුජෙනහි ඛන්තිවාදී
වධං විධායා'පි අතිත්තකෙන
හතෙ පදෙනො'රසි ඛන්තිසොධෙ
සො කූටසන්ධිගගහණම් බුබොධ.

එවං විධාය ඛන්තිපාරමියා අත්තානං කදා අලංකරිස්සාමි'..'තිව.

9. 'මිච්ඡාභියොගං න සහිංසු තස්ස
රුමාභිධානස්ස'පි පාදුකායො
සච්චවයා නා'ක්ඛුඤ ම'භාසි ධීරෙ
සො සච්චසන්ධො චතුසච්චවාදී.

අහම්'පි ඊදිසෙන සච්චපාරමිතා බලෙන සබ්බ ලොකස්ස චතුසච්චාව බොධන සමත්ථො කදා භවිස්සාමි'..'තිව.

10. 'සො මූගපක්ඛ විදිතො සිරිභීරුතාය
මූගාධිකං වතවිධිං සමධිඪහිත්වා
තං තාදිසං අනුභවං අසහම්'පි දුක්ඛං
යාවාභිනික්ඛම ම'භෙදි අධිඥිතත්ථො.

එවං මමා'පි අධිඪාන පාරිපූරිං කදා භවිස්සති'..'තිව.

11. 'මෙත්තානුභාවෙන ස ලොමහංසො
පෙමානු බඩෙන සඛිකරෙන්තො
සත්තෙ සමත්තෙ'පිච නිච්චවෙරී
සද්දං විරුඬත්ථ ම'කාසි ධීරෙ.

අහම්'පි එවං විධාය මෙත්තා පාරමිතාය කොටිප්පත්තො කදා භවිස්සා'..'මිතිව.

12. 'සො එකරුජ විදිතො සමචිත්තතාය
මානාවමානන කරෙසු තුලාසරූපො
තොසච රෙසම'නුපෙච්ච භජී උපෙක්ඛං
සබ්බත්ථ පීති විකතී හත චෙතනො'ව.

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එවං අහම්'පි උපෙක්ඛා පාරමිතාය කදා සබ්බසාධාරණෙ භවිස්සාමි'. 'තිව—නිච්චං චින්තෙසි.

ඉති පාරමිතාසිංසන පරිච්ඡෙදෙ පචමො.

Cap. VI.

1. එවම' නවජ්ජධම්මෙන රජ්ජං කාරෙන්තෙ තස්මිං කදාචි කෙනචි ජානපදානං අකුසල විපාකෙන

ජඨර පිඨර භාරක්කන්ත වංකොරුජාතු
සජල ජලද කුවා කාර ඝොරෙ' රුකායො
කුටිල කඨින දාඨා කොටි සඤ්ඤඩ්ගඩො
නව දිවසකරක්ඛො රක්ඛසො දීප මා'ග.

2. සො තෙසු තෙසු ගාමපරියන්තෙසු නිසීදති යෙ යෙ මනුස්සා තමා'ගම්ම තං රත්තක්ඛ මු'දික්ඛන්ති. තෙසං අක්ඛිණි රත්තානි භවන්ති. තංඛණෙ යෙ'ව රත්තක්ඛමාරකොනාම ජරරොගො පාතුභවිත්වා මාරෙති.

3. සො යක්ඛො මතමතෙ නිරාසංකො ඛාදති. තං යක්ඛං අදිස්වා'පි යෙ යෙ නරා තෙනා'තුරා තෙතෙ පස්සන්ති තෙ'පි සො රොගො අවිසති. එවං න චිරෙණෙ'ව යක්ඛභයෙන රොගෙන ච ජනපදෙ විරලජනො ජාතො.

4. රාජා තං පවත්තිං සුත්වා "මයි රජ්ජං කාරෙන්තෙ පජානං ඊදිසස්ස භයස්ස උප්පජ්ජනං අනනුච්ඡවිකං'..'ති මඤ්ඤමානො තද'හෙ'ව අඞ්ගසීලං සාමාදියිත්වා අත්තනො නිච්චං කයිරමාණනි දසකුසල කම්මානි අනුස්සරිත්වා "අහං ධම්ම විජයී භවිස්සාමීති තං—රක්ඛසං අදිස්වා න උඞ්ගිස්සාමි'..'ති අධිඞ්ගිත්වා දළ්හතරං අධිඞ්ගාය වාසගබ්භෙ සයි. තස්ස තෙන ආචාරධම්මතෙජෙන රාජානුභාවෙන ච සො රක්ඛසො සන්ත

හදයා නෙතා උත්තසිත්වා ඛණම්'පි ඨාතුං අසහන්
තො ආකාසෙනා'ගන්ත්වා බලවපච්චූස සමයෙ අන්තො
ගබ්භං පවිසිතුම'සක්කොන්තො බාහිරෙ ඨත්වා රඤ්ඤො
අත්තානං දස්සෙසි. රඤ්ඤාච'කො'සි ත්වං..'ති පු
ඨො ආහ" රත්තක්ඛො නාමා'හං රක්ඛසො දූරජනප
දෙ'සමි යිතො අහං ඛණම්'පි ඨාතුං අසක්කොන්තො
තවා'නුභාවෙන බඩො හුත්වා විය ඉධා'නිතො භායාමි
දෙව තව දස්සනෙ.."ති.

5. අථ රාජ සයනතො වුඨහිත්වා සීහපජරං විවරි
ත්වා ඔලොකෙත්වා"අරෙ ජම්ම මම විසය ගතෙ මනුස්සෙ
කස්මා ඛාදසි"..'ති;"මහාරාජ තව විසයෙ මයා මාරෙත්වා
එකො'පි ඛාදිතො නත්ථි; අපිතු මතකලෙබරං සොන
සිගාලාදීනං සාධාරණ භක්ඛභූතං ඛාදාමි න මෙ කොචි
අපරාධො අත්ථි; අත්ථිචෙ රාජදඩො මයි විධියතු'..'ති ව
ත්වා පවෙධමානො නිච්චලභාවෙන ඨාතුං අසක්කො
න්තො භයවෙගෙන ජාතලොමහංසො සානුනයමෙ'ව
මා'හ. "දෙවස්ස රඤ්ඤ ජීතං ධන ධඤ්ඤ සම්ඛි සම්පුණ්
ණං දෙවස්ස ධන වස්සෙන සම්පුණ්ණමනොරථා ම
නුස්සා, ඉදානි යාචකා'පි බහුතරා න හොන්ති අහම්'දි
සං රඤ්ඤ පත්වා'පි අලඞ්ගොචරො අපරිපුණ්ණමනොර
ථො ඡාතො පිපාසිතොච හුත්වා දීනභාවෙන ජීවිකං
කප්පෙමි තථා ඊදිසං භයං පත්තො'ම්හි අභයං මෙ දෙහි
මහාරාජ"..'ති.

6. අථ රාජ තස්ස දීනවචනං සුත්වා කරුණය
කම්පිතහදයො "මා භායි ත්වං රක්ඛස අභයං තෙ
දම්මි ඉච්ඡිතන්තෙ වදා'..ති ආහ. එවං රඤ්ඤා ච රක්
ඛසස්ස ච අඤ්ඤ මඤ්ඤෙහි සඛිං සල්ලපන්තානං
සද්දං සුත්වා අන්තොගතා අනුචරා රාජානං පරිවාරෙසුං.
අථ කථානුකථාය රක්ඛසො 'ආගතො රඤ්ඤා සඛිං
සල්ලපති'.ති සුත්වා සබ්බෙ අමච්චා නාගරාච සෙනාච

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සන්නිපතිත්වා රජඟනඑ රජභවනඑ පූරෙත්වා අරුණෙ උග්ගච්ඡන්තෙ මහන්තං කොලාහලම'කංසු.

7. අථ සො රක්ඛසො සන්නිපතිතං චතුරඟ බලඑ ආයුධහත්ථං අනෙකසහස්සං යොධබලඑ දිස්වා අතිවිය භීතො ඨාතුඑ රඤ්ඤො ආණත්තිබලෙන ගන්තුඑ කිම'පි භණිතුඑ න සක්කොති. රජා තදවත්ථං තං දිස්වා' ලඞ්ඝයො' සි ;ඉච්ඡිතං තෙ කථෙහි'..'ති ආහ.'ධම්මිකො රජා න මෙ කිඤ්චි භයං උප්පාදෙස්සති'..'ති ඤත්වා" රජානමෙ'වමා'හ."දෙවො ජානාති යෙ'ව සබ්බෙසං සත්තානං ආහාරඤ්ඤිතිකතං:—තථාහි උඩලොක වාසිනො දෙවා සුධා භොජනපීනිතා ජීවන්ති, අධො ලොකවාසිනො නාගා භෙකභොජනෙන සුහිතා වසන්ති, මනුස්සා ඛජ්ජකාදි නානාවිධෙන ආහාරජාතෙන පීණිතා ජීවන්ති අම්හාදිසා යක්ඛ රක්ඛසාදයො පන මංසලොහිතස්සාදතො තුස්සන්ති තෙසඑ' හමඤ්ඤත රෙජාතොඑ පිපාසිතොඑ තුම්හාදිසං කරුණපරායණං මහාපුරිසං දිස්වා'පි අපරිපුණ්ණමනොරථො මඤ්ඤභාග ධෙය්‍යෙ සොචාමි"...'ති ආහ.

8."නනු ත්වම'වොඑ 'මතකලෙබරානි ඛාදිත්වා වසාමි, .,ති."සච්චං මහාරාජ මතසරීරං සුක්ඛපණ්ණං විය නීරසං කිමෙ'තාය දුජ්ජ්විකාය පසීද දෙව වරං මෙ දෙහිතව විසයෙඨිතමනුස්සොඑකො ජනපදෙ ගොචරත්ථාය මෙ දීයතු; තත්ථ මනුස්සානං අනපහතුණ්හවෙගං ජීවරුධිරඑ ජීවමංසඑ ඛාදිත්වා චිරං සුඛෙන ජීවතුං සක්කා"..,ති ආහ. අථරාජා'අරෙ පාපිම රක්ඛස නා'හං පාණවධං අනුජානිස්සාමි චජෙ'තං ගාහවිකාරං'..,ති 'තෙන හි දිනෙදිනෙ එකං මනුස්සබලිං දෙහීති'..,ජීවබලි'මෙ කම්'පි න දෙමි'...ති වුත්තෙ "සච්චමෙ'තං මාදිසානං කප්පරුක්ඛා'පි අවකෙසි නො ජායන්ති හා හතො'ස්මි කිම'හං කරොමි'..,ති විසාදදීනනයනො දුම්මුඛො දෙමනස්සප්පත්තො අප්පටිභාණෙ අහොසි.

9 අථ තස්ස නරින්දස්ස කරුණාභූයසි තහිං ජාය මානා මනො තස්ස විවරව්‍යකූලං අකාසි. අථ රාජා එවං පරිවිතක්කෙසි.—

10 'නා'ත්‍යුස්සරාමි වත යාචිතුමා'ගතාන
මි'ච්ඡාවිඝාතා පරිතාප හතප්ජුතීහි
හෙමන්ත තිබ්බ හිම මාරුත නිස්සිරීක
පංකෙරුහෙහි සදිසානි මුඛානි ජාතු.

11 එතස්ස රක්ඛසස්ස කාරණා පරෙසං දුක්ඛමා' පාදයිතුං න කදාචි සක්කා; අහච අජ්ඣත්තිකා දානං කදා දස්සාමි'ති පත්ථෙමි තදි'දං පත්තකාලං ජාතං; සක සරීරස්ස අහමෙ'ව ඉස්සරො මම මංසලොහිතෙන එතං සන්තප්පයාමි'..,ති කතනිච්ඡයො අමච්චෙ ආමන්තෙත්වා එවමා'හ.

12 'ඉමං සුරත්තං පිසිතං සරීරං
ධාරෙමි ලොකස්ස හිතත්ථමෙ'ව
අජ්ජා'තිථෙය්‍යත්ත මු'පෙති තචෙ
ඉතො පරං කිං පියම'ත්ථි මය්හං.'

අමච්චා එවමා'හංසු "එතස්ස රක්ඛසස්ස අත්ථාය සකල ලොකං අනාථිකත්තු මි'ච්ඡතො කො'යං ධම්ම මඟෙහා දෙවස්ස"අථ රාජා එවමා'හ.

13'නිච්චොපභොගස්ස ධනස්ස චාපි
න යාචකෙ දඤ්ඤ ම'හං ලභාමි
එවං විධං අත්ථි ජනන්තු ලද්ධුං
න දෙවතාරාධනයා'පි සක්කා.—

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අපෙථ තුම්හෙ න මෙ දුනන්තරායං කරෙථා,,..,ති ආහ. අථ අමච්චා යදිවා'යං නිච්ඡයො අපරිච්චජනීයො අම්හෙසු එකෙ. *

14 සංගතෙන පටිඝෙන අතිකුඩා විසුංවිසුං එවමාහංසු"එස රක්ඛසො සීසච්ඡෙදමරහති'ති'—කාලමෙඝ ස දිසමෙ'තස්ස මහාසරීරං අනෙකසතානං සරානං තුණ්ඩිරභාවං නෙතුම'රහති'ති කෙචි—අනෙකෙසං බෙපසත්ථා නංලක්ඛභාවමු'පනෙතුං යුත්තමි'තිච අපරෙ—අසිකදලිකීළාය වජ්ඣොයමි'ති අඤ්ඤෙ—තෙලචෙලෙන වෙඨෙත්වා මහතා පාවකෙන උජ්ජාලෙත්වා දහිතබ්බොයමි'ති අපරෙ—ඉදං සබ්බං රාජා නානුජානාති, ඉමං අසප්පුරිසං ජීවගාහං ගහෙත්වා රජ්ජූහි ගුළපිඬවෙඨනං වෙඨෙත්වා බන්ධනාගාරෙ පක්ඛිපිතබ්බංති,.,අඤ්ඤෙ—එවමෙවං තත්ථ බහුධා කථෙන්තානං කටුකතරං වධවිධානං යක්ඛො සුත්වා තසිතො ඛිලිතක්ඛමො මතදෙහො විය නිච්චලො'ව ඨිතො.

15 අථ සො රාජා"එහි සඛෙ රක්ඛස මහොපකාර කරණභූත—

දෙය්‍යච දුනං පවනච චිත්තං
අත්ථි තුවං ලොහිතමංසකාමී
සමෙතුමෙ'තං හි තයං දුරාපං
මනොරථො සිජ්ඣතු නො උභිනනං,..ති.

වත්වා"මම සරීරතො දිය්‍යමානං ජීවමංසං ජීවරුඛිරංච මයි අනුග්ගහෙන සම්පටිච්ඡා"ති රක්ඛසස්ස වත්වා සලලකත්තාභිමුඛං දක්ඛිණබාහුං පසාරෙසි මංසකත්තනාය.

16 අථ සො යක්ඛො උභොකණ්ණෙ පිධාය සන්තං පාපං පටිහතාමඟලං රඤ්ඤෙ සොත්ථි භවතු—"කි

* පරණපොත් කීපයක්ම සපයා විභාගකෙළේ වීනමුත් අතින්අතට වරදවා ලියුමෙන් මෙහිදෙතුන්පෙලක් අඩුවිතිබෙනබව සිංහලසන්නේ එක්කරබලා නිසැකව සලකමු.

මි'දමා'පතිතං මහතා මෙ පාප විපාකෙන ජීවිතුමි'ච්ඡ තො විසඤ්ඤිනා මි'ව-ඤතප කිලන්තස්ස දුවක්ඛ පරි කෙඛපො වියච් යදි රිදිඤෙ මෙ සංකප්පො මහාරාජෙ සමුපජ්ජෙය්‍ය දෙවදඬො මෙ සිරසි අඩා පතාකුනි ලොකපාලා'පි මෙ සීසං ජීවන්ති නා'හමෙ'වං විධම්'පරඛං කරිස්සාමි"..,ති න සම්පටිච්ඡි.

17 අථ රාජා තෙනඞි යඤඛ"කිංතෙ මයා නාතඛ්බං"..,ති ආහ. අථ ඔ රනඛසෙ ඔහාජ්ජානං විඛ්ඛිනෙන රඤ්ඤ, ආණයව ඞිතො සංතප්පො"දෙව නා'හං අඤ්ඤං පත්ථියාමි කින්තු ඉතොපහුති රාජා රහෙන භොජනෙන ගාමෙඛාමෙ උපහාරං බලිං ලඛ්ඩු කාම'මිහි"..'ති ආහ. අථ රාජා"එවං කාරෙන්තු රඤ්ඤා සි නො"..'ති නඟරෙච් සකල රඤ්ඤ හෙරිං චරාපෙත්වා පාණාතිපාත විරමණාය ඔවදිත්වා නං යඤඛං උයෙඣ්ඣාපෙසි.

ඉති රත්තක්ඛස දමන පරිච්ඡෙදෙ ඡඤ්ඨො.

CAP : VII.

1. අථ කදුච් වස්සාධිකතානං දෙවතානං පමා දෙන අවඣාහො පාතුරහොසි—

නිදඤ්ඣ වෙහෙන රවී පතාපී
උණ්හාභිතාපෙතා පවනො ඛරොච්
ජරාතුරෙ'වා' ඞිසිරං ඛරාව
පිවිංසු තෙ සඞ්ඛධි සඞ්ඛම'ඞ්ගිං.

2. අන්තොභූසුණ්හෙණ විපච්චමාන
සනිස්සනම්හො භරිතෙ'ව චාවි
තිඛ්ඛාතපඤානන්ත වනන්තරාජී
රුතාකුලා ඛායති විරිකානං.

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3. වස්සානකාලෙ'පි පභාකරස්ස
පතාපසන්තාපිත ම'න්තලික්ඛං
සමාචිතං පඩරවාරිදෙහි
සචන්දනාලෙප මි'වා'තිරෙවි.

4. එවම් මහතා ගිම්හ විප්පුරණෙන නදී තලාක සොබ්භාදිසු සිකතාකද්දමාවසෙසං සොසිතෙසු කෙදරෙසු මතසස්සෙසු බහුධා එලිතභූමිභාගෙසු සලිලාභාවෙන කිලන්තෙසු මිගපක්ඛිසු තං පවත්තිං සුත්වා රාජ කරුණය කම්පිතහදයො අඞ්ගසීලං සමාදියිත්වා මහාචෙතියඟන මා'ගම්ම"යාවදෙව දෙවො සබ්බත්ථ විත්ථතාහි සලිල ධාරාහි සකල ලංකාදීපං පීනෙනෙතා වස්සං වස්සිත්වා මහතා උදකප්පවාහෙන මං න ප්ලවයිස්සති මරමානො' පි තාව න උඞ්හිස්සාමි,,'ති දළ්හතරං අධිඨාය තත්ථ සිලාපත්ථරෙ සයි.

5. තං ඛණෙ තස්ස රඤ්ඤො ධම්මතෙජෙන ච කිතානං ගුණප්පබන්ධෙන පසන්නානං දෙව නාග යක්ඛානං ආනුභාවෙන සමන්තතො වස්සවලාහකා උඞ්හිංසු.——තථාහි

6 දිසා මිනන්තා'ව දිසාපයාමං
විත්ථාරයන්තා'ව තමං සිඛාහි
ඡායා ගිරීනං විය කාල මෙඝා
නභත්ථලා දුසගතා ලසිංසු.

7 ගම්භීරධීරත්ථනිතා පයොදු
තහිං තහිං වස්සිතුමා'රභිංසු
සමුන්නදන්තා සිඛිනො කලාපං
සන්ධාරයුං ඡත්ත මි'වු'ත්තමංගෙ.

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8 මුත්තාකලාපා විය තේහි මුත්තා
ලඞ්ඝිංසු ධාරා පසමිංසු රෙණුං
ගන්ධො සුභො මෙදිනියා චචාර
විතඤ්ඤමානො ජලදනිලෙන.

9 ජුතීහි ජඞ්ඝනද පිජරාහි
මුහුං දිසන්තෙ අනුරඤ්ජයන්ති
මෙඝස්ස තාලී තුරියානුයාතා
විජ්ජුල්ලතා නච්ච මි'වා'චරිංසු.

10 කොධෙන රත්තා විය තඹවණ්ණා
නිනාදවන්තො ජයපීතියා'ව
ගවෙසමානා විය ගිම්හවෙරිං
ව්‍යාපිංසු සබ්බත්ථ තදා මහොඝා.

11 එවං විධෙ වස්සෙ පවත්තෙ'පි රාජ' න මං මහොඝො උප්පිලාපයී'ති න උඬාසියෙ'ව. අථ අමච්චා වෙතියගනෙ ජලනිග්ගමපණ්ණලියො ථකෙසුං අන්තො සම්පුණ්ණවාරිපූරෙ රාජානං උප්පිලාපෙසි. අථසො උඬාය වෙතියස්ස මහුස්සවං විධාය රාජභවන මෙ'ව ගතො.

12. තතො අදඬෙන අසත්ථෙන රජ්ජම'නුසාසතො රඤ්ඤො අච්චන්තමුදු මානසත්තං විදිත්වා උන්නලා කෙචි මනුස්සා ගාම විලොපාදිකං ආචරන්තා චොරා අහෙසුං. තං සුත්වා රාජා තෙ චොරෙ ජීවගාහං ගාහාපෙත්වා බන්ධනාගාරෙ ඛිපිත්වා රහසි තෙසං රතන හිරඤ්ඤාදිකං දත්වා'මා එවං කරොථා',..,ති ඔවදිත්වා පලාපෙත්වා රත්තියං ආමක සුසානතො ඡවරූපෙ ආනෙත්වා චොරහිංසං කරෙන්තොවිය අග්ගිනා උත්තාපෙත්වා නගරතො බහි ඛිපාපෙති. එවං චොරභයච අපනෙත්වා එකදා එවං චින්තෙසි.

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13. "කිම'නෙන රජ්ජවිභවෙන ඉදං පරිපුණ්ණං ස කොසං සපරිජනං සහොරොධං සාමච්චං සබලවාහනං රජ්ජං කස්සචි දානරූපෙන දත්වා වනං පවිසිත්වා සීලං සමාදාය කායවිවෙකං චිත්තවිවෙකඤ්ච සම්පාදෙතුං වට්ටති"..'ති අභිනික්ඛමණෙ රතිං ජනෙසි. තදා ගොඨාභයො'පි එවරූපං පාපවිතක්කං උප්පාදෙසි" එස රාජධම්මිකො සදාචාරකුසලො පතිදිවසං විධියමානොහි දසවිධකුසලකම්මෙහි ආයුසංඛාරෙ'පි'ස්ස වඩ්ඪති උප පීළකකම්මානිච දූරම'පයන්ති තතොයෙ'ව චිරතරං ජීවිස්සති එතස්ස අච්චයෙන කදා'හං රජ්ජං ලභිස්සාමි රජ්ජං පත්වා'පි වඩතරෙ අහං යුවජන සෙවනීයං විස යසුඛං කථ ම'නුභවිස්සාමි සීඝමි'මං ඉතො පලාපෙත්වා රජ්ජෙ පතිඨ භිස්සාමි"ති චින්තෙත්වා බහුං සාරධන මා'දාය උත්තරචාරතො නික්ඛමිත්වා පුබ්බවොරෙ සන්නිපාතෙත්වා බලකායං ගහෙත්වා ආගම්ම නගරචාරං ගණ්හි. තංපවත්තිං සුත්වා රාජා"රජ්ජං කස්සචි දත්වා අභිනික්ඛමණං කරිස්සාමි'ති කතසන්නිඨානස්ස මම අයං කෙනචි දෙවානුභාවෙන සන්නිධාපිතො මඤ්ඤෙ අමච්චා මයා අනනුමතා'පි පුරා යුජ්ඣිතු මා'රභිස්සන්ති එවං සති මං නිස්සාය උභයපක්ඛගතස්ස මහාජනස්ස විපුලං දුක්ඛං භවිස්සති කිම'නෙන රජ්ජෙන ඵලං රජ්ජං තස්සෙ'ව දින්නං හොතු,,..'ති මන්ත්වා කඞ්අජානා පෙත්වා පරිස්සාවන මත්තං ගහෙත්වා දුල්ලක්ඛියමාන වෙසො දක්ඛිණවාරෙන නික්ඛමිත්වා මලයදෙසං ගච්ඡන්තො.

14"සදාසන්තුඨ චිත්තානං සක්කා සබ්බත්ථ ජ්විතුං කුත්‍රනාම න විජ්ජන්ති ඵලමූල ජලාලයා"

ඉති චින්තයන්තො' ව කමෙන ගන්ත්වා හත්ථවනගල්ලං නාම මහන්තං අරඤ්ඤායතනං පාවිසි.

15. අවිරල පවාල තුසුම් ඵල සඤ්ඡන්න විසාල සාඛ මණ්ඩලෙහි උච්චාවචෙහි පනස සහකාර කපිපති නිම් බරූ ජම්බීර ජම්බු විභීතකා' මලක හරීතක තිරීටක සාල සරල වතුල පූන්නාග කදම්බකා'සෝක නීප චම්පක හින්තාල තාලප්පභූති හි විවිධතරුගහණහි ස මාකීර්ණං විපුල විමල සිලුච්චය පරියන්ත සංගත නදී සම්භෙදනිපෙඵාපසංකන්න විවිධමිගයූථ විහඞ්ගහ ණිසෙවිතං මහෙසක්ඛා දෙවතාධිග්ගහිතං නන්දනවන කාමනීයං සුලභමූල ඵලසලිල සුඛොපභොග රමණීයං තං මහාකානනං ඔලොකෙත්වා 'ඉදංමේ තපොවනං භවිතු ම'රහතී'ති කතාලයෝ කායච්චෙවා චිත්තච්චේ කාසං ලාභෙන එතග්ගහමාතෙසා මෙත්තාවිහාර ම'න්වා යුජ්ඣන්තෝ වඤ්ඤුජීවිකාය සණ්ඨිතඤ්ඨාසි විප්ප රණ පිතිකායෝ වාසං කප්පෙති.

ඉති අභිනික්ඛමණ පරිච්ඡෙදෙ සත්තමෝ.

CAP: VIII.

1. ගොඨ භයෝ'පි රජ්ජං පත්වා කතිපාහච්චයෙන "මම චඬතාය විරතෙතා පජාවඞ්ගෝ වනං පවිඨං සංඝබාධිං ආනෙත්වා රජ්ජං කාරෙතුං කදාචි උස්සහතී,,,,' ති සඤ්ඤාතපරිසංකෝ තං මාරාපෙතුං වට්ටතී'ති අභි සන්ධාය "සංඝබොධිරඤ්ඤෝ යෝ සීසං ආනෙස්සති තස්ස සහස්සං පාරිතොසිකං ධනං"ති නගරෙහෙරිං චරාපෙසි. තතෝ මලයදෙසවාසිකෝ කොචිදුග්ගතෝ පුරිසෝ අත්ත නෝ කිච්චෙන පුබ්බභාගතං ආදායවනං ගන්ත්වා ගච්ඡන්තෝ භොජනවෙලාය සොඬිසමීපෙ නිසින්නං සංඝබොධිරාජානං දිස්වා තස්ස ආඝාපෙන පයහාන හදයොභතෙතන තංනිමන්තෙසි. රාජා නසම්පටිච්ඡි. අථ සෝ'පි දූරිසෝ "නා'හං ඤාතීනඤ්ඤා ජානෝ නපාණ

වධජීවිකාය ජීවන්තො කෙවට්ටොවා ලුද්ද කොවාභවා
මි අථඛො උත්තමවණ්ණෙහි පරිභොගාරහෙ වංසෙ
සජාතොම්හි මමසන්තකම්'දං භත්තං භොත්තු ම'ර
හති කල්‍යණ ධම්මිකා'ති,..,තං පුනප්පුන යාචි.

2 අථරාජා

ඡායාය ගෙහං සාඛාය සෙය්‍යං වත්ථං තවෙනච.
අසනං ඵලපත්තෙහි සාධෙන්ති තරවො මම.

3 එවං සම්පණ්ණභොගස්ස නතණ්හා පරසන්තකෙ
තවජම්මාදි මුද්දිස්ස ගරහාමෙ න විජ්ජති.....ති
වත්වා නඉච්ඡි එව—

4 අථ සො පුරිසො භූමියං නිපජ්ජ නමස්සමානො නි
ඛන්ධිත්වා යාචි. තතො තස්ස නිඛන්ධං නිවාරෙතු
ම'සක්කොන්තො සගාරවං සොපචාරං දීය්‍යමානං
භත්තච සකපරිස්සාවන පරිපූරිතපානීයච පරිභුජි
ත්වා භත්ථමුඛධොවනෙන පරිසමත්තභත්තකිච්චො'අ
නෙනා'හං කතොපකාරෙ කීදිස මස්ස පච්චුපකාරං
කරිස්සාමි'ති චිත්තයන්තොච තං අභිමුඛීකරිය'අනුරා
ධපුරෙ කා පවත්ති'ති පුච්ඡි. අථ සො පුරිසො පුබ්බරාජා
නං පලාපෙත්වා ගොඨාභයොනාම රාජා රජ්ජෙ පතිඨ
හිත්වා "සිරිසංඝබොධිරක්ඛෙ යො සීසං ඇදය දස්සෙති
තස්ස සහස්සං පාරිතොසිකධනං'.,'ති නගරෙ භෙරිච
රාපෙසි කිරා,,.'ති සූයති'ති.

5. තස්ස වචන සමනන්තර මෙව තුඨ පහඨ හදයො
මම සහස්සාරහ සීසදානෙන ඉදානි එතස්ස පච්චුපකාරෙ
කතො භවිස්සති අජ්ඣත්තික දානත්තා දානපාරමි
තාච කොටිප්පත්තා භවිස්සති ඉදචවතරෙ—

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6 නපූතිපූගී ඵලමත්තකම්'පි
අග්ඝන්ති සිසානි විජ්විතානං
සීසන්තුමෙ වත්තති බොධියාව
ධනස්ස ලාභායව අඩිකස්ස.

7 අපිව — නාළිවණස්සෙ'ව රූජාකරස්ස
පූතිප්පධානස්ස කලෙබරස්ස
දුක්ඛන්නුභූතං පටිජග්ගනෙන
සදත්ථයොගා සඵලං කරොමි'..'ති

චින්තෙත්වා කතනිච්ඡයො"හොපුරිස සො'හං සිරිසං ඝබොධිරාජ නාම මම සීසං ගහෙත්වා ගන්ත්වා රඤ්ඤො දස්සෙහි'ති ආහ'සොතං සුත්වා"දෙව නා'හමෙ'වං විධං මහාපාතක කම්මං ආචාරිස්සාමි භායාමි,,'ති ආහ.

8 අථ රාජ 'මාභායි කහාපණසහස්ස ලාභාය අහමෙ ව තෙ උපායං කරිස්සාමි කෙවලං ත්වං මයා වුත්තනියා මෙන පටිපජ්ජ'ති වත්වා සහස්සලාභ ගිඩෙන තෙන භතකපුරිසෙන අධිවාසිතෙ සීසච්ඡෙදය සත්ථං අලභමා නො ධම්මාදිඨාන තෙජසා සීසං සන්ධිතො විසුං කරිත්වා දස්සාමීති චින්තෙත්වා පල්ලංකං සුත්ථිරං බන්ධිත්වා 'ම මෙදං සීසදානං සබ්බඤ්ඤූත ඤාණලාභාය පච්චයො භව තුති සොමනස්ස පුබ්බකං පත්ථනං කත්වා තං පුරිසං අත්තනො සමීපං ආමන්තෙසි. සො අඩිකපුරිසො' පුබ්බෙ අදිඨපුබ්බං දුක්කරං කම්මං දිනනං සීසං ගහෙත්වා අනුරාධපුරං ගන්ත්වා දස්සෙමි කො තං සජානාති කො තං සද්ද හිස්සති'ති.

9 අථ සො ගොඨාභයො"සවෙ තෙ නා සද්දහිස්සති අහමෙ'ත්ථ සක්ඛිහුත්වා සහස්සං දාපෙස්සාමි තයාතු තත්ථ එවං කත්තබ්බං,..,ති පටිපජ්ජිතබ්බාකාරං උප දිසිත්වා' එහි සප්පුරිස මම සන්තිකෙ ඔනතො හුත්වා

උභය හත්ථතලානං එකීකරණවසෙන අඡලිං කත්වා බාහුං පසාරෙහි'ති වත්වා උභොසු පස්සෙසු නීල ධම ඤ්ඤානං නාළිනං උජුභාවාපාදනෙන කණ්ඨනාලං සම්මාඨපෙත්වා සලිලපරිස්සාවනෙන සීසසන්ධිං ජලලෙඛාය පරිච්ඡින්දිත්වා සකීයෙන දක්ඛිණ හත්ථමුඛිනා චූළාබඩං දල්හං ගණ්හිත්වා' යාව මම සිරං ආදාය අඩිකපුරිසස්ස හත්ථෙ සමප්පෙමි තාව මම චිත්තකිරියා වායොධාතුවෙගො අවිච්ඡින්නො පවත්තතු'ති අධිඨාය චූළාබන්ධනං උඩාභිමුඛං උක්ඛිපි. තාව දෙවසීසබන්ධො පුඨුභූතො හුත්වා තෙන මුඛිනා ගහිතොයෙව පගඝරන්තියා ලොහිතධාරාය සඩිං අඩිකස්ස හත්ථතලෙ පතිඨාසි. තස්මිංයෙව ඛණෙ වනාධිවුත්ථා දෙවතා සාධුවාද මුඛරා පුප්ඵවස්සං වස්සාපෙත්වා සීසස්ස ආරක්ඛං ගගණ්හිංසු.

10 සංසත්තරත්ත කලලෙ' ඩිකපාණිඛෙත්ත
නික්ඛිත්ත සීසවරබීජ සමුබ්භවාය
ඒතස්ස දානමයපාරමිතා ලතාය
සබ්බඤ්ඤුතා ඵලරසො ජනතං ධිනොතු.

11. අථ සො අඩිකපුරිසො සුගන්ධවනකුසුමමාලාහි තං සීසං අලංකරිත්වා පූගකුහිලිකා පුමෙ පක්ඛිපිත්වා සීඝගතිවෙගෙන අනුරාධපුරං ගන්ත්වා ගොඨාභයස්ස දස්සෙසි. සො තං දිස්වා සජානිතුම'සක්කොන්තො සංසයප්පත්තො අඨාසි. අථ අඩිකපුරිසො රඤ්ඤා වුත්තවිධි ම'නුස්සරන්තො තං සීසං ගහෙත්වා ආකාසෙ ඛිපිත්වා'සාමි සිරිසංඝබොධි මහාරාජ ත්වමෙ'ත්ථ මෙ සක්ඛිභවා'ති අඡලිම්පග්ගහෙත්වා ආකාස මු'දික්ඛමානො යාචි. අථ තං දෙවතාධිග්ගහිතං සීසං නිරාලඹෙ අඹරෙ ලඹපතිඨං ගොඨාභයස්ස අභිමුඛං හුත්වා.

12 රාජාහමෙ'ව සුහදො සිරිසංඝබොධි
සිසප්පදාන විධිනා'සමි සම්ඛවිතෙතා
තවාසි රජ්ජ සිරිලාභ සුඛෙන දෙව
එසොච හොතු පටිපන්න සහස්සලාභො...ති අහ.

13 තං සුත්වා ගොඨාභයො සාමච්චො විමහිත හදයො සිහාසනං සජ්ජෙත්වා උපරිසෙ තච්ඡත්තස්ස කාරෙත්වා ඉධ දෙවඔතරා'ති යාචිත්වා තත්ථ ඔතිණ්ණං තං සීසං නානාවිධාහි පූජාහි ආරාධෙත්වා නමස්සමානො බමාපෙත්වා මහතාමහෙන ආළාහණ කිච්චං කාරෙත්වා අඩිකං කහාපණ සහස්සෙන තොසෙත්වා උයේ‍යාජෙසි.

ඉති අජ්ඣත්තිකදාන පරිච්ඡෙදො අඨමො.

Cap : IX.

1 සිරිසංඝබොධිරඤ්ඤො මහෙසී පන රඤ්ඤො පලාතභාවං ඤත්වා' අහච තං අනුබ්බජාමි..ති අඤ්ඤතර වෙසෙන දක්ඛිණ චාරෙන නික්ඛමිත්වා මග්ගං අජානන්ති උජුකමග්ගං පහාය තං තං ගාමං පවිසිත්වා සාමිකං අපස්සන්ති භයෙන සාලීනං තායච පුච්ඡිතුම්'පි අසහමානා' මලයදෙසං ගතො'ති චින්තෙත්වා වංකමග්ගෙන ගච්ඡන්ති කොමලතාය සීඝංගන්තු ම'සක්කොන්ති කාලං යාපෙත්වා තස්ස අරඤ්ඤායතානස්ස සමීපගාමස්මිං රඤ්ඤො සීසදානප්පවත්තිං සුත්වා''සාහං වරාකී දස්සනමත්තම්පි නාලත්ථං,..'ති සොක පරිපුණ්ණහදයා තමෙ'ව වනසඩං අධිරුය්හ භත්තු කලෙබරං විචිනන්ති සමීපගාමෙසු මහාජනං පුච්ඡන්ති අවිදිත සංකෙතත්තා තත්ථ තත්ථ විචරන්ති සමීපගාම වාසිනො බාලකා ගොපාල කඨහාරිකා ඉත්ථියොච එතිස්සා විලාපං සුත්වා කම්පිතහදයා තායසඩිං විචරන්ති?. සා එවං විලපමා

නා සුපුප්පිතං විමලවාලුකං වනගුම්බං දිස්වා තත්ථ නි
පතිත්වා භූමියං පරිවත්තමානා අතිකරුණං විලාපම'කා
සි. සොපදෙසො අජ්ජාපි 'විධවාවන'න්ති වොහාරී
යති.

2 සා මහතා රෙදනෙන තං රත්තිං තත්ථෙ'ව ඛෙපෙ
ත්වා පුනදිවසෙ ඉතොතතොච විචරන්ති මහතා
සොකග්ගිනා ඩයහමානා සන්තාපං අඛිවාසෙතුං අස
ක්කොන්ති එකස්මිං බුද්දකජලාසයෙ නිපතිත්වා නි
මුග්ගායෙව මුච්ඡාවෙගෙන චෙතයො මුහුත්තෙ අතිවා
තිවා? උපලඩ පරිබොධා පරිළාහං නිබ්බාපෙසි. තං
ඨානමෙ'තරහිච 'නිබ්බාන පොක්ඛරණී'ති සමඤ්ඤං
අලභි.

3 තතො උඨහිත්වා අනුගුඹං අනුරුක්ඛං අනුසිලා
තලං ගවෙසමානා සොඬිසම්පෙ සයමානං දෙවතාඛිග්
ගහෙන සිගාලාදීහි අනුපහතං සුක්ඛසරීරං කවන්
ධරූපං දිස්වා සොකවෙග ඵලිතෙනෙව හදයෙන දළ්
හතරං තං ආලිඟිත්වා සයි. තාව භොජනවෙකල්ලෙන
දුරගමනෙන තත්ථ තත්ථ නිපතිත සරීරඝාතෙන ච කි
ලන්තරූපා මුච්ඡාසමකාලමෙ'ව කාලම'කාසි.

4 සම්පගාම වාසිනො සන්නිපතිත්වා' මුඩාභිසිත්තස්ස
රඤ්ඤෙ'ව මහෙසියාව සරීරං අම්හාදිසෙහි ඵුසිතුව න
යොග්ගං වත්තමානස්ස රඤ්ඤො අනිවෙදයිත්වා ආළා
හණකිඩං කාතුම්පි නයුත්තං,..'ති සම්මන්නිත්වා වස්සා
තපතිවාරණය කූටිං කත්වා තිරච්ඡානප්පවෙසනිසෙ
ධාය වතිච කත්වා අපක්කමිංසු.

5 ගොඨාභයො සිරිසංඝබොධි මහාරාජස්ස අනඤ්ඤ
සාධාරණ ගුණප්පබන්ධං අනුස්සරන්තො'දහර කාල
තො පඨාය වත්ථුත්තය පරායනත්තං නිඩං සීලරක්
ඛණං සුගතාගම විචක්ඛණත්තං සකලකලාකොසල්

ලං රජ්ජෙ අනත්ථිකතං දූතඝොසතං රක්ඛසදමනා දිකං දුක්කර චරිතම්ව කස්සනාම සථෙතානස්ස නපිති මා'වහති'ච්චෙසතො අඞ්කදුග්ගතස්ස සඝස්ස ලාභාය සහථෙණ සිඝංකණ්ඨනාලතො උඛරිත්වා දූතං සීසස්සා'පිනිරුලඛේ ඨකාසෙ අවඞ්ඛනං වූහතතරාය ගිරාය ඝාඛිප්පායංචෙතානි වෙදථෙති අච්ඡරියං අබ්භූතං අදිඨ පුබ්බං අස්සුත පුබ්බම්ව නිම්මලචරිතං මම මහාපරාධක ලං තෙනෙව සඞ්ඛං චිරකාලං පවතනිස්සති. අහො අහං සුචිරඤාසිනා ඊදිසෙන අනිත්ති ඝද්දෙන සාධූහි නින්ද නියොභවිස්සාමි ච්චෙසතොපන නිච්චකාලංකලඤණ මිත්ත භූතස්ස ඊදිසස්ස මහානුභාවස්ස අනපරාධස්ස මහාපුරිසස්ස රජ්ජං අච්ඡින්දිත්වා වධං නාරෙසිං අඤඤ දත්ථි මිත්තදූභිකම්මෙන අහං පළිවෙධිතො භවිස්සා මී,..,ති චින්තෙන්තොඝෙව භයසන්තාපෙහි නිත්ත බන්තඝසදෙ පවෙධමානොංකථිංදිසා මහාපාපා මොවෙස්සාමී,..,ති උපපරික්ඛි.

6. අථ තස්ස දඩකම්මස්ස කාරණවසෙන උළාරතරං කුසලං කම්මං නාතඞ්ඛන්ති පවිභාසි. අථසො අමච්චෙ සන්නි පාතෙත්වා තෙහි සඞ්ඝං සම්මන්තෙත්වා කතා නිච්ඡයො මහාසඞ්ඛ්ඛණවතතෙවි? අනුසිඤොමහතා ඛලකායෙන සඞ්ඝං ගහෙත්වා තස්ස අරඤඤයතනස්ස අවිදූරෙ සෙනාසන්නිවෙසං කාරෙත්වා තස්ස මහාපුරි සස්ස දුක්කරං පදූන සඞ්ඛ්ඛතං පුඤඤඤාණං සඤමෙව ගහෙත්වා සොඞ්කාසම්පෙ අනුරූපඨානං සල්ලක්ඛෙත්වා අත්තනො රජ්ජානුභාවං දස්ඉන්තො ආළාහණඨානං දෙවනගරම්ව අලංකරිත්වා කෙවලෙහි මහන්තෙහි වඤනදූරුහි උච්චතරං චිතකං කාරෙත්වා භාරෙන පමාණෙනව රඤඤාසිසසදිසං ජාඞ්ඛානදකනතොහි සකණ්ඨනාලං සීසාකාරං සිප්පිහි කාරෙත්වා කවන්ධ රූපෙ සංඨවිත්වා විවිධරතන සමුජ්ජලං සුවණණකිරීටං

පිලන්ධාපෙත්වා මහෙසිච තථෙව අලංකරිත්වාතෙ උභොපි කාසික වත්ථසදිසෙහි මහග්ඝ දුකූලෙහි අච්ඡා දෙත්වා අනෙක රතනඛචිතං සුවණ්ණසයනං ආරා පෙත්වා චන්දනචිතකමත්ථකෙ ඨපෙත්වා පරිසුඛජෙති පාවකං ජාලෙත්වා අනෙකඛත්තිය කුමාරපරිවාරි තො සයමෙව තත්ථඨත්වා අනෙකසප්පි ඝටසතෙහි සිචිත්වා ආළාහණ මහුස්සවං කාරෙසි.

7. තථෙ'ව දුතිය දිවසෙ'පි මහතාජනෙන ආළාහණං නිබ්බාපෙත්වා'තස්මිං ඨානෙචෙතිය භවනං වට්ටුලං කාරෙතුං වට්ටතී'ති චින්තෙත්වා අමච්චෙ ආමන්තෙ ත්වා' එතරහි අනෙක භූමකං අතිවිසාලං කනකමය වට්ටුල ඝරං කාරෙතුං සක්කා ආයති පරිහාරකානං අ භාවෙන නප්පවත්තති රඞ්ව්ලොපකා පි සුවණ්ණලො හෙන නාසෙන්ති තස්මා අලොහනියං සුඛපරිහාරා රහං පමාණයුත්තං වට්ටුලඝරච යචචෙති? න චිරස්සෙව කාතුං යුත්තන්'ති මන්තෙත්වා මහාබලකායං නියො ජෙත්වා වුත්තනියාමෙනෙව විභූමකං වට්ටුලභවනං නිම්මාපෙත්වා තස්ස අබ්භන්තරෙ සුගත ධාතුනිධා නං පූජනියං චෙතියච කාරාපෙත්වා මහුස්සවදිවසෙ ම හාසංඝස්ස තං දස්සෙත්වා' එසො භන්තෙ සිරිසංඝ බොධි මහාරාජ පුබ්බෙ එකච්ඡන්තෙන ලංකාතලෙ ර ජ්ජං කාරෙසි ඉදානි මයා තස්ස රක්ඛෙඛාචෙතිය රූප ස්ස කිත්තිමය සරිරස්ස ඡත්තාධිඡත්තං විය විභූමිකං වට්ටුලවිමානං කාරෙත්වා චෙතියසීසෙ කිරීටං විය ක නකමයං ථූපිකච යොජෙත්වා සබ්බෙහි දෙව මනුස් සෙහි මානනීයතං වන්දනීයතච පාපිතො'ති වත්වා චෙ තිය ඝරස්ස අනෙකානි ගමක්ඛෙත්තානි පරොසහස් සං පරිවාරජනච නියාතෙත්වා පබ්බතපාදෙ අනෙක සතපාසාදපරිවෙන චංකමණ රත්තිඨාන දිවාඨාන ධම්මසාලා ගොපුරපාකාරාදි අවයව සහිතො විවිධ සං

ඝරුමෙ කාරෙත්වා තත්ථ වසන්තස්ස අනෙකසහස්ස භික්ඛු සංඝස්ස නිච්චං පච්චයලාභාය අනෙකානි සපරිජනානි ගාමකෙඛත්තානි දත්වා "මහාලෙඛරඨස්ස සමුස්සිත ඛජයමානො අයං මහාවිහාරෙ ලංකාභූමිසාමිකානං ඛත්තියජනානං කුලධනභූතො සබ්බෙහි ඛත්තියෙහි අපරිභාපනියවිභවො නිච්චං පාලනීයෙ,..,ති මහාජනකායස්ස මජ්ඣෙ ඛත්තියකුමාරානං ආදිසිත්වා අනුරාධපුරංගතො'පි තස්සෙ'ව පාපකම්මස්ස නිරාකරණය තොසු තෙසු විහාරෙසු මහන්තානි පුඤ්ඤකම්මානි කාරාපෙසි. තතොප්පභූති ලංකාඛිපච්ච' මුපගතෙහි ඛත්තියෙහි මහාමච්චාදිහිච සො හත්ථවනගල්ල මහාවිහාරෙ අන්තරන්තරා පටිසංඛරියමාණෙ අපරිහීණ පරිහාරෙ පවත්තති.

චව්ටුල විමාහු'ප්පත්ති පරිච්ඡෙදො නවමො.

CAP: X

1 අථා'පරෙන සමයෙන කදාචි තස්මිං විහාරෙ නිවසතො මහාභික්ඛුසංඝස්ස අන්තරෙ කොචි මහාථෙරෙ අබ්භොකාසිකො හුත්වා අන්තොවිහාරෙ එකස්මිං පදෙසෙ නිසීදිත්වා භාවනම'නුයුඤ්ජන්තො විපස්සනං වඩ්ඪෙත්වා මහාමෙදිනියා නිග්ඝොසෙන ආකාසං පූරෙන්තො අරහත්තං පාපුනි.

2 තදා උපතිස්සොනාම රාජා රජ්ජං කාරෙන්තො නිසීථසමයෙ භයාවහං තං පඨවිසද්දං සුත්වා 'කිංවා මෙ භවිස්සති,.,ති සන්තාපෙන නිද්දං අලභමානො සොකෙන සන්තප්පති. අථ තං සෙතච්ඡත්තාඛිවත්ථා දෙවතා "මා භායි මහාරාජ ඉතො කාරණ කිඤ්චි තෙ අමඟලං නත්ථි හත්ථවනගල්ල මහාවිහාරෙ කොචි මහාථෙරෙ

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අරහත්තං පාපුනී,..ති ආහ."තස්ස අරහත්තප්පත්තිකා ලෙ පඨවිනිග්ඝොසස්ස කාරණං කිං,..,ති වුත්තෙ"සො මහාථෙරෙ පුබ්බෙ පුඤ්ඤකම්මං කරෙන්තො' ආකා සෙනසඞ්ඛං පඨවිං උන්නාදෙත්වා අරහා භවෙය්‍යං,'ති පත්ථනං ඨපෙසි තස්ස ඵලමි,දං,..,ති සමස්සාසෙසි.

3 තං සුත්වා රාජා 'අවසෙස භික්ඛූනං අරහත්තප්ප ත්තිතො විසිඨතරො තස්ස කිලෙසවිජයො'ත් පසන්න හදයො තං මහාථෙරං නමස්සිත්වා 'තස්ස ආසවක්ඛ යස්ස මහුස්සවෙ ආසනභූතං භූමිප්පදෙසඑ පාසාද කරණවසෙන සම්මානිස්සාමි'ති චින්තෙත්වා මහාඛ ලකාය මා'දය තත්ථ ගන්ත්වා තස්මිං පදෙසෙ පඑභූම කං මහාපාසාදං කාරෙත්වා විවිධචිත්තකම්මේහි සමලං කරිත්වා කනකඛචිතතඹිමයපත්ථරෙහි ඡාදෙත්වා දෙව විමානං විය සජ්ජෙත්වා තං ඛීණසවමහාථෙරං සභික්ඛුසංඝං තත්ථ වාසෙත්වා චතුහි පච්චයෙහි පූජෙ ත්වා සපරිජනානි ගාමක්ඛෙත්තානි පාසාද සන්තකානි කත්වා පක්කාමි.

4 තතො දීඝස්ස අඬුනො අච්චයෙන මලයදෙසවාසි නො කෙචි චොරා එකතො හුත්වා ගාමවිලොපං කත්වා මහන්තෙන ධනලාභෙන මත්තා ධනං දත්වා බලකායං උප්පාදෙත්වා යෙභුය්‍යෙන සබ්බං ජනපදං හත්ථගතං කත්වා රාජූනං බලඑ අභිභුය්‍ය සෙරිනො හුත්වා මහන්ත මහන්තෙ විහාරෙඑ විලුම්පන්තා සුවණ්ණපත්ථරච්ඡද නං ගණ්හන්තා මහාපාසාදං විඛංසිත්වා පාතයිංසු.

5 තදා මොග්ගල්ලානො නාම රාජා රජ්ජං කාරෙන් තො තං පවත්තිං සුත්වා තෙසං සන්තිකෙ චරෙ පෙ සෙත්වා දානසාමභෙදෙහි අඤ්ඤමඤ්ඤං භින්දි. තෙ චොරා භින්දන්තා ඉතරෙතරෙහි යුජ්ඣිත්වා සයමෙ'ව දුබ්බලා අහෙසුං. අථ සො රාජා තෙ අසමග්ගෙ ඤත්වා අත්තනො සෙනං ගහෙත්වා තත්ථ ගන්ත්වා තෙ විසුංවිසුං

ගහෙත්වා නිග්ගය්හ රඤ්ඤෙ අභයභෙරිං චරාපෙත්වා ජන පදං සුප්පතිඝීතං කත්වා තෙහි අපවිඛවිහාරෙ පාකතිකෙ කත්වා "මහාපාසාදං සුවණ්ණගහණකාලෙ පා තෙසුං,..,ති සුත්වා' පුබ්බෙ විය සුවණ්ණ පත්ථරෙහි ඡා තෙ පච්ඡා'පි ඊදිසී විපත්ති ජායිස්සතී'ති ඤත්වා තෙභූම කං කත්වා යථාපුරෙ පාසාදං නිම්මාපෙත්වා මත්තික පත්ථරෙහි ඡාදෙත්වා වව්ටුලභවනං පටිසංඛරිත්වා සබ්බ සංඝාරාමච පාකතිකං කත්වා පක්කාමි.

ඉති පාසාදු'ප්පත්ති පරිච්ඡෙදො දසමො.

CAP: XI

1 අථ ලංකාලංකාරභූතෙසු විසාලපුඤ්ඤිඩ්ඩික්ක මෙසු රතනත්තයමාමකෙසු අනෙකෙසු ලංකානා ථෙසු කිත්ති පුජාවසෙසෙසු ජාතෙසු අපෙතනීතිමග්ගෙසු රජ්ජපරිපාලනොචිතවිධානවිරහිතෙසු මුදුභූ තෙසු නිහීණභාගධෙය්‍යෙසු ලංකිස්සරෙසු තාදිස කෙ සෙව' වා,මච්චජනෙසුච යෙභූයේ‍යන අඤ්ඤමඤ්ඤං විරුඛෙසු වත්තමානෙසු ලංකාවාසීනං පුරාකතෙන කෙ නා'පි දුරුණෙන පාපකම්මුණ නානාදෙසවාසිනී අවි දිතසත්ථුසමයා පවිඬ්මිච්ඡාදිඝීගහණ පච්චත්ථිසෙනා ජඹුදීපා ඉධා'ගම්ම සකලලංකාදීපං අනෙකාතංකසං කුලම'කාසි.

2 තදා තාය පච්චත්ථිසෙනාය ගාළ්හතරං නිප්පීළි යමානා රජරජ මහාමච්චාදයො අනෙකසහස්සජන කායොච භයචකිතහදයා සකතානගවෙසිනො ඡඩ්ඩිතගාමනිගමනගරා තත්ථ තත්ථ ගිරිදුග්ගාදො කි ච්ඡෙන වාසං කප්පෙසුං. තතො සුගතදසනධාතු රක්ඛාධිකතා මහායතයො දන්තධාතුච පත්තධාතු වරච ගහෙත්වා කුන්තමලයාභිධානං ගිරිදුග්ගං දුප්ප

වෙසං ජනපදමු'පාගම්ම තත්ථා'පි තම් පටිජග්ගිතු ම'සමත්ථා භූමිං නිදහිත්වා යථාකාමං ගතා.

3 තතො පුබ්බෙ ජයමහාබොධිදුමින්නෙන සහ සකලජඹුදීපාධිපතිනා දිනකරකුලතිලකෙන ධම්මාසොකනරිඤ්ඤෙන පෙසිතානං අත්තනා සමානගොත්තානං රජපුත්තානං නත්තපනත්තාදිපරම්පරාගතස්ස විජයමල්ලනරාධිපස්ස ඔරසපුත්තො විජයබාහු * නරිඤ්ඤානාම රාජා සුවිඤ්ඤාතසබ්බසමයන්තරො සතතසමාචිත්තසුනීතිපථො සම්පත්තබලවාහනො ජඹුද්දෙණිංනාම පුරවරං මාපෙත්වා තත්ථ වසන්තො මහතා බලකායෙන කතසකලපච්චත්ථිවිජයො මලයභූමිප්පදේසතො භගවතො දන්තධාතුභට්ටාරකං පත්තධාතුවරච ආහාරාපෙත්වා සුරසදනසදිසම'තිවිරොචමානං විමානං මාපෙත්වා තස්මිං තං ධාතුයුගලං නිවෙසෙත්වා මහතා උපහාරවිධිනා සාදරමු'පඨහන්තො භගවතො චතුරාසීතිධම්මක්ඛන්ධසහස්සානි තත්ත කොහෙ'ව කහාපණෙහි සම්පූජෙත්වා සුගතසාසනෙ මහන්තං පුඤ්ඤුපදානං ජනයන්තො.

ධම්මිකසිරිසංඝබොධිමහාරාජසිරෙදානාපදානසිඛක්ඛෙත්තභූතෙ අනෙකඛිණසවසහස්සචරණරජෙ පරිපූජිතමනොහරභූමිභාගෙ ගොඨාභයමහාරාජෙන කාරිතෙ හත්ථවනගල්ලමහාවිහාරමඬනායමානෙ වට්ටුලවිමානෙ පුරා රඨවිලොපාගතාය චොළකෙරලාදිකාය තිත්ථියසෙනාය මහාචෙතියං උදරෙ භින්න මත්තෙ ජීවිතෙ විය ධාතුභට්ටාරකෙ අන්තරහිතෙ හදයව

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* මේ රජහුවිසින් මායාරටෙහි කළාවූ කටයුතු මෙසේ මහාවංශයෙහි දක්වනලදි.—

'මායාරට්ඨම්හි යෙ සන්තො පාසාදා පටිමාසරා
විහාරා පරිවෙණාච තථා චෙතියමඬපා
පාකාරා ගොපුරාදිව තෙසං තෙසං යථාපුරා
තථෙව නවකම්මන්තේ කත්තුං රාජා නියෝජයි

තත්‍රිමංසම්'ව සුවණ්ණරතනාදිකං පහරිත්වා විඛ්‍යතං ජින්නුඩ්ඩාරවිධිනා පරිසංඛරොන්තො පූජාඛානත්තාය තො පඨාය සක්කච්චං චිනාපෙත්වා මහන්තං සුවණ්ණථූපිකාමහඞ කාරෙත්වා සපරිජනානි ගාමඤ්ච තඤාදීනිච දත්වා තත්ථ නිවසන්තානං භික්ඛූනං නිබඛදානවට්ටං පඤ්ඤපෙත්වා තං හත්ථවනගල්ලමහාවිහාරං සඞ්ඝස්ස පරිච්චජි.

4 අථ තස්මිං ලංකානාථෙ කිත්තිසිරිරාජසෙසෙ ජාතො තස්ස'තුජ්ඣරෙ පරක්කමබාහුජොනාම රාජා අම්හාකං භගවතො අරහතො සම්මාසම්බුද්ධස්ස බොධිමූලෙ නිසීදිත්වා මාරබලං විධමෙත්වා සබ්බඤ්ඤුතඤාණං පටිවිජ්ඣිත්වා පඨාය අඤ්ඤතාධිකවස්සසහස්සෙ චතුවීසතිසුච වච්ඡරෙසු අතික්කන්තෙසු සම්පත්තරජ්ජාභිසෙකො අනෙකවිධසඛභවත්ථූහි සංගහිතමහාජනො චතුපච්චය දානෙන සතතාසමාරාධිතානෙකසහස්සභික්ඛුසඞ්ඝො භූජබලවිඛ්‍යාතාරුනිරුජකුලාවලෙපො අනෙකාමණිරතනසම්බ්‍රිහාසිතරතනකරණ්ඩකච පවනි සුවණ්ණසහස්සෙහි සොවණ්ණතරණ්ඩකච පවවීසතියා රජතසහස්සහි රජතකරණ්ඩකච දන්ධාධාතුහදන්තස්ස කාරාපෙත්වා අතීවපසන්නාහදයො සුඤරහදයො සුමුඤතොතාන තත්ථ සම්පයන්තො අහතනො නගරච දන්තධාතු මඤිරච සක්කච්චං සමලංකාරාපෙත්වා බහුමාන පුරස්සරො දසනධාතුවරමා'දය අනෙකානි හත වතො වරියාපදානානි සමනුස්සරිත්වා " පුරා නෙකභූප තායො පාටිහීරසඤඤස්සනෙන පසාදිතා'ඉති පවදතඤ ථාමිතාරසෙනො'ව මෙ සවණයුගලං පරිපිනිත ම්'ඛනා'පි නෙතඤ පාටිහාරියවිසෙසෙන මම චකඛුපථිලාභො සථ ලො කානඛ්ඛො,.., ති සාදර මා'රාධනම'කාසි.

5 තස්මිං බණෙ යා දසනධාතු තස්ස කරපංකජෙ රාජහංසිවිලාස මා'තනිති පාටිහීරම'කාසි. කථන්තිවෙ

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සථා*අන්තිමභවෙ මාතුකුච්ඡිතො ජාතමත්තො'ව ඛො ඛිසත්තො නරවරකරතො'පනීතදුකූලවුඹටකතො ඔ තරන්තො'ව ඛාලො සමානො'පි සොළසවස්සුද්දෙසිකො විය අමඞ්තො'පි අනෙකවත්ථාභරණවිභූසිතො විය භූමියා ගච්ඡන්තො'පි ආකාසෙන ගච්ඡන්තො විය සබ්බෙසං ජනානං පටිභාසි. තථෙ'ව තත්ථ තදා දන්ත ධාතුභට්ටාරකො සුගතබිඹාකාරෙන සලක්ඛණව යවෙන රූපෙන භාසමානො අනෙකවිධරංසිනිකරෙ විකිරන්තො තත්ථ සන්නිපතිතානං ජනානං මානනං ජනෙසි—වුත්තංහි.

6 ලංකාධිතාථකරපංකජරාජහංසී
නිම්මාය සා දසනධාතු මුනිඤ්රූපං
නෙකෙහි රංසිවිසරෙහි සමුජ්ජලන්තී
සබ්බා දිසාච විදිසා සමලංකරිත්ථ

7 දිස්වා තම'ඛ්භූතම'තීව පසන්නචිත්තො
සම්පත්තචක්කරතනො විය චක්කවත්තී
සෙඬෙහි නෙකරතනාභරණදිකෙහි
පූජෙසි ධාතුම'සමං මනුජාධිනාථො. †

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* මේගැණම බුඩවංශයෙහි මෙසේ පෙනේ : "තෙසං හත්ථතො මනුස්සා දුකූලවුඹටකෙන මනුස්සානං හත්ථතො මුච්චිත්වා පඨවියං පතිට්ඨාය පුරත්ථිමං දිසං ඔලොකෙසි **** උත්තරාභිමුඛො සත්තපදවීතිහාරෙන අගමාසි. පඨවියා එව ගතො නා'කාසෙන ; අවෙලකො'ව ගතො නොසවෙලකො දහරෙ'ව ගතො න සොළසවසුද්දෙසිකො——මහාජනස්ස පන ආකාසෙන ගච්ඡන්තො වියව අලංකතපටියත්තො වියව සොළසවස්සුද්දෙසිකො වියව අහොසි"

† දාඨාවංශයෙහිද මෙසේ තිබෙයි.
"තස්මිංඛණෙ දසනධාතුමුනිස්සරස්ස
පක්ඛෙ පසාරිය දුවෙ විය රාජහංසී
චිත්ථාරිතංසුනිවහා ගගණඟනම්හි
ආවට්ටතො ජවි ජවෙන මුහුත්තමත්තං
පච්චග්ඝ ම'ත්ථරණකං සිතම'ත්ථරිත්වා
බුඩාසනම්හි විනිධාය මුනිඤ්ඨාතුං
තං ජාතිපුප්ඵනිකරෙන ථකෙසි රාජා
චස්සච්චයම්බුධරකූටසමප්පහෙන"

8 තතො ජිනදන්තධාතුවරප්පසාදකාලම්හා තෙ ජෙබලපරක්කමමහිමො පරක්කමබාහුමහානරිඤ්ඤො පුලත්ථිපුරනිවාසිනිං කතලොකසාසනවිලොපං සරාජිකම'නෙකසහස්සසංඛං චොළකෙරලවාහිනිච නෙක දෙසමහිපාලමත්තමාතඟකෙසරිවික්කමං දුරතික්කමං ලොකසාසනසඟහකරණවසෙන වචිතසකලලොකං සම්පන්නබලවාහණං ලංකාරජ්ජගහණත්ථිකං තඹලිඟවිසයාගතම'තිසාහසං චන්දභානුමනුජාධිපච සසාමන්ත'මන්තකභවනමු'පනීය්‍ය.

සකලලංකාදීපමෙ'කච්ඡත්තං විධාය අත්තනො පිතුමහාරාජතො දිගුණං ලොකසාසනසඟහං කරොන්තො කදාචි සංඝස්ස කඨිනචීවරානි දාතුකාමො කප්පාසපරිකම්මකන්තනාදිකානි සබ්බකරණීයානි එකාහෙනෙ'ව නිඨාපෙත්වා පච්චෙකම'නෙකමහග්ඝගරුභඩමඩිතානි සසාමණ්ඩිකපරික්ඛාරානි අසීතිමත්තානි කඨිනචීවරානි දාපෙත්වා ලොකස්ස සාධුවාදෙන දසදිසං පුරෙසි.

9 එව ම'ඤ්ඤානි'පි බහූනි ලොකවිම්හයකරානි පුඤ්ඤාපදානානි සම්පාදෙන්තො සො පරක්කමබාහු මහානරිඤ්ඤො හත්ථවනගල්ලවිහාරෙ අත්තනො පිතුමහාරඤ්ඤො ආළාහණඨානෙ මහාචෙතියං *ඛන්ධාපෙත්වා තත්ථෙ'ව අනෙකඛිණසවසහස්සපරිභුත්තං පාසාදවරං චිරකාලවිනඨං සුත්වා ධනුකෙතකිවත්ථුවංසෙ ජ

* මේගැණ මහාවංශයෙහි මෙසේ කියාතිබේ.
"අථ රාජවරො හත්ථවනගල්ලභිධානකෙ
විහාරම්හි සංඝබොධිරාජා ඨානෙතු යත්ථ සො
අදා තස්ස දළිත්දස්ස සීසදානං තදා තහිං
ඨානෙ ගොඨාභයව්හෙන භූපාලෙන විභූමකං
වට්ටධාතුඝරං යන්තු කාරිතං තං (මහීපති)
පුනකාරාපයී තුඟ සොණ්ණසිඟං තිභූමකං
තස්මිංයෙව විහාරම්හි අත්තනො පිතුරාජිනො
දෙහනික්ඛෙපඨානම්හි කාරයී වරචෙතියං
තත්ථෙ'ව පුනරට්ඨංසං කාරෙත්වා පටිමාඝරං
සම්බුඩපටිමං තත්ථ සංඨපෙසි සිලාමයං"

තං සඬාදිගුණසම්පත්තිසමුදිතං පතිරාජදෙවනාමකං අමච්චවරං පෙසෙත්වා තෙන අනෙකසහස්සධන පරිච්චාගෙන භූමිභිත්තිඞ්ගදිසුචිත්තකම්මමඬිතං මනොහරං පුරෙවියතං පාසාදං කාරාපෙත්වා තත්ථ නිවසන්තානං අනෙකෙසං භික්ඛූනං නිබඬපච්චයදානං පවත්තෙසි.

10. තත්ථෙ'ව වට්ටුල විමානස්ස හෙඨිමතලෙ ගොපානසියො ඨපෙත්වා සමන්තා ඡදනං කාරෙත්වා විභූමකං විමානං තිභූමකම'කාසි. තත්ථෙ'ව ලංකාදීපෙ අභූත පුබ්බං ජිනමන්දිරං කාරාපෙතුකාමො වට්ටුලවිමානතො උත්තරදිසාභාගෙ පඨමං පොරිසප්පමාණං සිලාතලපරියන්තං ඛණිත්වා පංසූනි අපනෙත්වා නදීවාලුකාහි පූරෙත්වා කුජරරාජවිරාජිතඞ්ගාරබන්ධකතො පඨාය යාවඨූපිකං අඨංසවිභාගෙන භිත්තිච්ඡදනානි විභත්තානි කත්වා පච්චෙකං නානාවණ්ණචිචිත්තවිතාන විමට්ටානං භිත්තිභාගානමු'පරි කෙළිපරිහාසරසජන කනානාවෙසවිලාසභූසිතපහූතභූත කින්නරපරිසපරිගතවිටංකමඬලමඬිතං පමුඛපරියන්තෙ විවිධවිචිත්ත රූපමනොහර'මුච්චතරං ඉඨිකාහි නිචිතං කත සුධාපරිකම්මමකරතොරණමඬලච නිම්මිනිත්වා අන්තො විරචිතානි මනොහරමාලාකම්මලතාකම්මාදි නානාවිධචිත්තකම්මසමුජ්ජලං සුවිහිතසොපානචාරකවාටං සමලංකතඨානලීළ්හමනොහරසජීවජිනසංකාසපටිබිඹරූපවිභූසිතං පටිබිඹස්ස දක්ඛිණතො ඝනසිලාවිහිතසුගතරූපපතිමඬිතං තිභූමකං මහා විමානං කාරෙසි.

ඉති අඨංස විමානු'ප්පත්ති පරිච්ඡෙදො එකාදසමො.

---

11 විඩස්තසංඛරණතො නවකම්මුණවා
ඛෙත්තාදිදාන විධිනාච අනාගතෙ'පි
යෙ සාධවො පරිහරන්ති ඉමං විහාරං
නාමච කාරම'පි තෙස මිහාලි ඛන්තු

1 පුඤ්ඤෙනා'නෙන පප්පොමි
නිබ්බුතිං යාවතාව'හං
උප්පජ්ජෙය්‍යං කුලෙ සුඛෙ
සඛෙ අඩ්ඪෙ මහඛනෙ.

2 අසෙසදෙසභාසාසු
කලාසු සකලාසුව
කුසලො ලොකපඬිච්චො
චඛනිම්මද්දනෙ'පිච.

3 පිටකෙසුව වෙදෙසු
නෙකව්‍යාකරණෙසුව
තක්කාදිසු පන'ඤ්ඤෙසු
සත්ථෙසුව විසාරදෙ.

4 කවිචා'ගමකොවාදෙ
පරවාදප්පමද්දනො
එකස්සුති ධරෙ'නෙක
සහස්සානම්'පි ගන්ථතො.

5 ගන්ථ සත සහස්සම්'පි
සුතමත්තෙන ධාරයෙ
අත්ථව්‍යඤ්ජනතො චා'පි
සහස්සනයතො'පිච.

6 වසා සීහස්ස පක්ඛිත්තා
යථා කචනපාතියා
සිලාලෙඛෙ'ව මෙ නිච්චං
සුතං සබ්බං න නාසයෙ.

7 මහිඩිකො මහාතෙජෙ
කතඤ්ඤූ කුසලො බලී
ඛිතිමා ජාතිසම්පන්නො
භවෙය්‍යං ජාතිජාතියං.

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8 පරෙ'පි මං න හිංසෙය්‍ය
න හිංසෙය්‍යං පරම්'පිච
අදඬෙන අසත්ථෙන
දමෙ'හං සබ්බපාණිනං.

9 කුදිඨිපාපමිත්තච
නසෙවෙය්‍යං කුදාචනං
පාණකං අනුමත්තම්'පි
න හනෙය්‍යං කදාචි'පි

10 නිපුණං දුද්දසං පඤ්ඤාං
යෙන කෙනචි පුච්ඡිතො
මුහුත්තෙන පකාසෙය්‍යං
තොසෙන්තො සකලං පජං,

11 අතෙකිච්ඡා'පි යෙ රෙගා
තෙ මයා පෙක්ඛිතක්ඛණෙ
නිස්සෙසා ව්‍යපගච්ඡන්තු
උදබින්දූ'ව පොක්ඛරා.

12 දස්සිතසුත මත්තම්'පි
යං කීචි මම සන්තකං
රාජ චොරප්පියා සත්තා
අග්ගිනා උදකෙන වා
න විනස්සන්තු මෙ භොගා
මාගය්‍ඝ ඩය්‍ඝ වුය්‍ඝතු.

13 රෙගව්‍යාධන්තරායොතු
න පප්පොන්තු කදාචි මං
දෙවා මනුස්සා අසුරා
ගන්ධබ්බා යක්ඛරක්ඛසා,
තෙ'පි මං පරිරක්ඛන්තු
භවෙ සංසරතො මම,

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14 අදිනනං පරදාරව
සුරාපානවිහිංසනං
අසච්චං සුපිනෙනා'පි
නකරෙය්‍යං කුදාචනං.

15 පචානන්තරියං කම්මං
පච දුච්චරිතම්'පිච
මනසා'පි න චින්තෙය්‍යං
සබ්බකාල මි'තො පරං.

16 න කරෙය්‍යං න කාරෙය්‍යං
න චින්තෙය්‍යං කුදාචනං
පාපකං අනුමත්තම්'පි
තථා දුක්ඛච පාණිනං.

17 නිරයෙච තිරච්ඡානෙ
පෙතෙ අසුරයොනියං
යං යංහි දුක්ඛං තං සබ්බං
න ඵුසෙය්‍යං කුදාචනං
පූරෙත්වා බොධිසම්භාරෙ
බුඩො හෙස්සං අනාගතෙ,..,නි.

සිඩිරසතු.....ආරොග්‍යමසතු.

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ERRATA

Page.	line from top.		
lxxi	...	10	... For 'conversation' read 'conversations.'
„	...	13	... For 'thinking' read 'believing.'
lxxiv	...	18	... Insert 'above all' after 'and.'
lxxvi	...	8	... Insert 'to raise' before 'a rebellion.'
lxxviii	...	9	... For 'ury' read 'Jury.'
„	...	15	... For 'ailed' read 'failed.'
cvi	...	1	... For 'is' after reader, read 'in.'
„	...	4	... *Dele* 'it' before 'demands.'
cxxvii	...	22	... For 'literatu' read 'literature.'
„	...	23	... „ 'antequite' read 'antiquity.'
„	...	31	... „ 'p. (?)' read '61'
cxxx	...	5	... „ 'distinction' read 'destruction.'
„	...	31	... „ 'to declared' read 'to be declared.'
cxxxiv	...	7	... Insert 'of' before 'Gibbon.'
clv	...	17	... *Dele* 'eternal.'
clvii	...	17	... For 'light' read 'slight.'
11	...	12	... „ 'Introduction' read 'Preface.'
28	...	30	... „ 'Introduction' read 'Preface.'
32	...	20	... „ 'after' read 'from.'
36	...	12	... „ 'Introduction' read 'Preface.'
37	...	16	... Insert 'ancient' before 'city.'
41	...	5	... For 'hasty passions' read 'wrath and haste.'
„	...	9	... *Dele* 'all.'
42	...	2	... For 'by' read 'with.'
43	...	17	... Read 'who act, etc.' [within brackets.]
88	...	5	... For '18. p.' read 1858-9, p. 23.
94	...	10	... „ '17th' read 'twenty-seventh.'
130	At the end, insert the following passage :—		

"If, hereafter, any pious (persons) by way of repairing that which is dilapidated, or adding any thing new to it, or of making a provision of offerings (for it), such as fields, etc., shall maintain this Temple, let them record in continuation their names as well as their acts."

Page.	line from top.		
141	...	6	... For 'javivjayena' read 'javijjayena.'
„	...	15	... „ 'merpaneya' read 'mupaneyya.'
151	...	5	... „ 'callyrium' read 'collyrium.'
155	...	18	... Regard gândharwa nagara lekha as a phenomenon in the Heavens.
160	...	21	... For 'Saptuchhada' read 'Saptachchada.'

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